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Underground Nuclear Test at Semipalatinsk 22 Jan
LD2201053489 Moscow TASS in English 0531 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—An underground nuclear explosion with a yield of 20 to 150 kilotons was conducted at 0657, Moscow time, in the Soviet Union in the area of the city of Semipalatinsk on January 22, 1989.

The test was carried out with a view to upgrading military technology.

The radiation situation in the test area and beyond the test site is normal.

Disarmament Conference Opens in Geneva 23 January

Conventional Arms Cuts Sought
LD2301125289 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva January 23 TASS—A conference on the problems and prospects for reducing conventional armaments in Europe opened at the Geneva Palace of Nations on Monday. Its participants—prominent specialists on disarmament from more than 20 states in Europe, America, Asia and Africa - will discuss the current situation in the field of conventional armed forces in Europe and the doctrine of their application, the problem of comparing various systems of conventioanl armaments, the goals and methods of reduction, limitation and stabilization of conventional armed forces, confidence and verification methods, reduction of conventioanl weapons in Europe and its impact on the rest of the world.

Organized by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), the conference will last three days.

Karpov Gives Speech
LD2401000489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1827 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Excerpts] [Dateline indistinct] The conference on the problems of and prospects for a reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, organized by the UN Institute for Disarmament Problems, has opened in the Geneva Palace of Nations. [passage omitted]

The conference participants listened with great attention to the detailed speech by Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister. In spite of serious differences in approach to solving the problem of disarmament in Europe, he said, there is today an opportunity for laying bridges between the Soviet proposal on the gradual reduction of armed forces on the continent to a level sufficient exclusively for defense, and the NATO proposal on stability at reduced levels of arms. While noting that there is a fairly good basis for the start of negotiations in Vienna on conventional weapons, the speaker warned those influential circles in the NATO leadership who tend to play a waiting game and see what kind of compromises can be gained from the Soviet Union by putting forward rigid proposals, the essence of which would boil down to a unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces. This kind of tactic can only slow down the elaboration of an agreement on a reduction of conventional weapons.

The Soviet representative said that there are real difficulties facing such an agreement with regard to the coordination of a concrete registration and counting of arms. These difficulties could be overcome if it were agreed that talks would be conducted not on initial data, but on the final ceilings of the types of arms to be reduced. Were this the case, verification of the reaching of these ceilings would be carried out, that is, verification of the practical implementation of the agreement reached.

Karpov stressed in particular the need to ensure an organic interconnection between the reduction of conventional weapons and the working out and introduction of new measures of trust and security in the military field, and said: "If we want to achieve success, we must first overcome the stereotypes of 'strength,' and the desire to look at each other through gun sights."

The Soviet representative recalled the restructuring on the principles of reasonable sufficiency of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, which has already begun, and emphasized that all these measures have become possible as a result of the cardinal improvement of the international situation and of the practical implementation of the principles of the new political thinking in the foreign policies of states, both East and West.

Differing Proposals Discussed
LD2401054289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] A conference on the problems and outlook for reducing conventional arms in Europe has opened in Geneva. Our correspondent, Vladimir Dmitriyev, reports:

[Dmitriyev] The conference has been organized by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research. Taking part are many leaders of delegations to the Geneva conference on disarmament, representatives of the neutral and developing countries, and eminent experts, diplomats, and political scientists from the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. Under discussion are issues connected with the strategic doctrines of the two military and political alliances, East-West relations, and the contemporary state of affairs concerning conventional arms in Europe.

The first speeches already attest to the great influence on the work of the conference and the appraisals of the problems touched upon wielded by two events. One is

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the UN in December 1987 which laid out many of our initiatives, including one of the most important—the forthcoming cut of a half million men in the Soviet Armed Forces. And the other event is the mandate for talks on conventional armed forces in Europe agreed on in Vienna as a result of the combined efforts of all the countries taking part in the all-European conference. Many speakers pointed out that favorable preconditions are now occuring for working out an agreement on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe.

As is well-known, the Warsaw Pact countries are in favor of a gradual reduction to levels sufficient for defense alone. The NATO bloc recently spoke in favor of a proposal on stability at lower levels of arms. So there are two approaches. There are serious differences between them but at the same time, the positions do have certain similarities, said Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is taking part in the meeting. They both—the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO—are in favor of removing existing asymmetries and imbalances by means of reducing conventional armed forces and weapons, particularly those with a capacity for sudden attack or large-scale offensive operations. In itself this is not a bad start for the beginning of talks in Vienna. At the same time, the Soviet representative noted, we are disturbed by the fact that influential circles, particularly within the NATO leadership, tend to adopt wait-and-see tactics to see what concessions the Soviet Union is prepared to make.

Proponents of this line would like to submit to the 23-nation talks hard-line proposals basically envisaging unilateral arms cuts by the Soviet Union. Obviously, this can only delay the working out of an agreement to reduce conventional weapons. As stressed by the Soviet representative with regard to the Vienna talks, it is necessary to begin working out an initial block of accords without wasting time in general discussions in order to make the soonest possible use of favorable opportunities. In the opinion of many participants in the discussions who spoke today, there is an objective limit to this process beyond which any unilateral action in the direction of disarmament must gain a multilateral character.

Soviet Envoy Cited

LD2301202289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1140 GMT 23 Jan

[Discussion program entitled "The Program for Moving Toward a Nuclear-Free World in Action"; interview with Ambassador-at-Large Aleksey Aleksandrovich Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, by Igor Pavlovich Charikov foreign political commentator of All-Union Radio; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Charikov] The latest round of nuclear and space weapons talks ended around the end of the year in Geneva. What were the main issues you tackled during that round and what difficulties—I imagine you came up against some problems as well—did you have to surmount?

[Obukhov] This latest round was one of great significance for the whole history of the talks on nuclear and space weapons, I would say. It marked the end of talks with the Reagan administration, so to speak, since the next round, of course, begins after the new administration under the new President, George Bush, takes office. Summing up the results of the efforts undertaken by both sides to draw up a treaty on strategic arms while preserving the ABM Treaty, one has to acknowledge that great progress has been achieved. Here again, as was the case with the INF Treaty, a major contribution to that progress was, naturally, made by talks at the political level—at summit level and foreign ministerial level. But the delegations have also done some important work. As a result, we now have a set of documents, of joint drafts, which will form the backbone of a future accord on strategic offensive arms.

It goes without saying that a lot remains between parentheses in these texts; a considerable amount of work lies ahead in clearing these, which indicate the persisting differences in the approaches of the two sides. The foundation of the treaty, however, is already there. This is a good start for the future and I am convinced that if both sides display goodwill and if the proper effort is made by both sides, this edifice can be completed without unjustified delays on the basis of the existing foundation. Naturally, it will not be easy to achieve such an accord—serious issues remain, and efforts will have to be made in order to surmount them. [passage omitted]

[Charikov] It's now time for the next round of the talks. What are you personally expecting?

[Obukhov] In practical terms I am in favor of the next round being a logical continuation of the previous ones, that is, a working period in which the sides make a maximum effort to achieve progress and solve the remaining issues. There are such issues. For example, the questions of adherence to the ABM Treaty and of space weapons, is of fundamental significance. With regard to this, the Washington formula, contained in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement of 10 December 1987, was worked out at one point. We are in favor of implementing it precisely and fully in a corresponding agreement. The ABM Treaty must be preserved and must be honored. The two sides have agreed to undertake not to withdraw from the treaty for a specified period, and this is essential for ensuring strategic stability. Stability is essential for carrying out a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive arms. This is how the matter is organically interlinked.

Therefore, the matter of space weapons must be resolved, though it has to be frankly said that so far this is where least progress has been achieved. This is perhaps the most difficult issue—perhaps even a deadlocked

issue—at the present stage of the talks. But this deadlock, this difficulty, must be surmounted and this could be achieved as early as the next round.

There are also, of course, other major issues in need of solutions. One of them is the question of limitations on long-range sea-launched cruise missiles. Here too, there has been virtually no progress as yet. We are in favor of strict limitations on these weapons with appropriate monitoring procedures. So far, these far-reaching proposals of ours have received no support from the U.S. side, but we hope that in the end the U.S. side will grow to realize the need for strict limitations on long-range sea-launched cruise missiles with strict monitoring.

There are also other issues remaining. There's a lot of work, and we are in favor—or, at least, I'm in favor—of devoting the next round to specific work, to resolving the problems that have been left over from the previous round in order to make a decisive step, as I said at the beginning, toward achieving a final accord. [passage omitted]

'Political Leitmotiv' in Future East-West Relations

LD2001234789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Fom the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Major General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin by correspondent Vsevolod Solovyev; date, place not given; recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent Vsevolod Solovyev; identified by caption] Major General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin is a military expert, a specialist on disarmament and security issues. Geliy Viktorovich, can you imagine our future as a simple confrontation between blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty?

[Military expert G.V. Batenin; identified by caption] Well, as I understand it, I cannot imagine a future with a simple military confrontation, because now an irreversible process—I believe it is irreversible—of lowering the level of military tension in Europe has begun. A mandate for major disarmament negotiations has been adopted in Vienna, so I see the future of our mutual relations—I am talking about East-West relations—with a political leitmotiv rather than military.

[Solovyev] Views have been expr ed that unilateral actions and accords on armaments ay under a mask of cutbacks turn into modernization of the Soviet armed forces and that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations allegedly represents a step along that road.

[Batenin] Well, I have heard about such statements. And, by the way, there are very few of these. Military professionals, politicians, and public activists engaged in the so-called study of political science understand perfectly well and comprehend the qualitative parameters of these cutbacks, that is, what it means to withdraw six tank divisions, what it means to cut back the greater part of personnel from the forward lines, that is from the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. That is, the qualitative side gives no grounds for such, I would say, improbable assumptions.

[Solovyev] They even maintain that we have gone for a genuine withdrawal but that we are doing it for offensive purposes.

[Batenin] Well, that is absolute nonsense, as they say. No sensible man ever allows any structure of his armed forces to be weakened in order to ensure for himself the accomplishment of aggressive or offensive tasks.

[Solovyev] Geliy Viktorovich, do our new initiatives mean that we have accepted the West's argument on Soviet superiority in conventional armed forces?

[Batenin] Well, you understand that the issue here is very complex. There are asymmetries in the balance of forces. Naturally, in our unilateral step we have tried to eliminate those weapons in which we have an advantage. That is, I am thinking above all about tanks. But that does not mean that the Warsaw Treaty outnumbers NATO in everything. Indeed no. NATO has other kinds of asymetries in its favor. These are strike aircraft, combat helicopters; these are naval forces. These should be discussed and they will be discussed. In this instance the process will speed up when the two sides get down to eliminating asymetries.

Some Troop Reductions To Come From Poland

LD1801021889 Warsaw PAP in English 0020 GMT 18 Jan 89

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 17—Spokesman for the general headquarters of the Soviet Armed forces, Gen. Nikolay Chervov announced, in an interview granted to the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Poland's inclusion in the group of East European states from which the Soviet Union intends to withdraw a part of its troops in the nearest future.

From the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland we will withdraw 50 thousand soldiers and officers, Chervov said. All the withdrawn units will be dissolved, he continued, dismissing Western allegations that the Soviet Union intends to deploy the withdrawn troops in Asia. A reduction in the armed forces is under way and the military men will join the reserve, Chervov said.

U.S. Developing Electromagnetic Microwave Systems
LD2301195489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 2200 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet people voice their concern over the desire of U.S. military circles to justify the race of the most up-to-date types of armaments. Here is what a Soviet writer, Sergey Sergeyev, has to say on the subject:

Quite recently the American journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY carried an article which alleges, without any grounds or proof, of the development of electromagnetic microwave armaments, declares Sergey Sergeyev. What was the purpose of placing such information—or to be more precise, misinformation—on the pages of such a prestigious publication in the United States? Obviously one purpose is pursued—to justify in the eyes of the American and international public that large-scale scientific research and experimental designing for the development of microwave weapons, work which is carried out in the United States on the Pentagon's assignment. [sentence as heard] Facts quoted in that same American press indicate that this work is in full swing. Here are some of those facts.

The US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT indicated in its last May issue that the U.S. military department was conducting experiments with the highly powerful microwave systems capable of putting out of order the enemy's military hardware by melting down its electronic circuits. In March last year the journal SPECTRUM noted in one of its articles that the laboratory rats whose brains had been affected by microwaves were writhing in convulsions and losing consciousness and memory. Along with that, a report published in the magazine SCIENCE NEWS points out in 1983 that a greater part of the work in microwave devices is financed by the U.S. Department of Defense. According to the Pentagon officials, microwave weapons will probably be provided to the Army in the 1990's. Besides, reports have appeared in the American mass media that nonnuclear microwave generators meant for combating antiship missiles are being developed on orders of the U.S. Navy. Particular anxiety is aroused by the circumstance that in the United States, in the framework of the notorious Star Wars program, work has been launched for the development of nuclear microwave weapons. To form a powerful flow of electromagnetic radiation directed in a definite sector, energy of an explosion is used of a specially designed nuclear charge. Such devices, if exploded in space or on the ground, are capable of hitting both military projects, in particular missileboard [as heard] devices and warheads, as well as civilian installations, for instance, man-made satellites and power supply systems.

There seems to be no need to continue. The listeners could become convinced that it is precisely the United States that initiates the development of microwave types of armaments, just like other armaments. And in order to mislead public opinion, reports are sometimes placed in the press similar to the one published in the above mentioned journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY. As for the Soviet Union's stand, it is to be recalled that our country is undertaking every effort toward the prevention of the transfer of the arms race to the spheres where physical principles have earlier not been used. The world public is well aware that the Soviet proposals in this field have been regarded in the United Nations framework since 1975, and they were reaffirmed in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986. To prevent the development of new types of armaments, world public opinion must be mobilized, whose role is at present greatly mounting in the international processes.

Correspondent Rejects Claims About CW Stockpiles
LD2301163889 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] THE TIMES of London has carried a report quoting intelligence sources to the effect that Soviet chemical weapons stocks are six times bigger than the stock the Soviet Union has announced. We asked our defense correspondent, Colonel (Valeriy Chebotaryev) to comment on that claim:

[(Chebotaryev) in Russian fading into English translation] There have been quite a few claims of that kind addressed to the Soviet Union, or rather various aspects of its military policy. At the beginning of last year, for instance, in the United States and some other Western countries, rumors were circulating to the effect that the Soviet Union in fact holds more SS-20 missiles and launchers than the numbers stated in the protocol for the INF Treaty. Now this proves to be deliberate misinformation. The same sort of claims are being made now.

The Soviet stand on the issue of chemical weapons is absolutely clear. In a bid to achieve total elimination of chemical weapons at an early date, the Soviet Union has over the past 2 years stopped the manufacture of chemical weapons and published data about its chemical weapons stock. The United States has, incidentally, done nothing of that kind. At the same time, the Soviet Union accepted the notion of comprehensive verification and is now prepared to invite foreign observers to inspect the scrapping of chemical weapons.

Bearing all this in mind it would be naive to propose that it is possible to conceal the real size of a chemical weapons stock. Why is then THE TIMES trying to raise doubts? The most appropriate explanation would seem to be the following. There are real prospects for signing an international convention on a total chemical weapons ban already this year. The Soviet decision to begin scrapping its chemical weapons at an early date would surely go a long way towards meeting that objective, but that prospect apparently rubs some people in the West the wrong way. That is why aspersions are cast on Soviet policy in the hope of setting up more obstacles in the way of ridding the world of these barbarous weapons and put the blame on Moscow.

The report in THE TIMES pursues a broad objective. The Soviet peace initiatives and in particular this country's unilateral moves to reduce troops and weapons have shattered the image of the Soviet Union as the enemy in the eyes of the Western public. This causes concern on the part of those who still think in terms of the cold war. That stand can, of course, do no good to the interests of international security.

Deputy Foreign Minister Cited on Chemical Weapons

PM1801140289 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 12 Jan 89 p 21

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov by Claude Moniquet—date, place not given]

[Text] LE QUOTIDIEN: The main problem with the destruction of chemical weapons is of course monitoring that destruction and it is even more difficult to reach agreement on methods of monitoring the production of these weapons. Does the Soviet Union have specific proposals to make in this sphere?

Viktor Karpov: Yes, we suggest the following method: Every country will announce what stocks it has and where they are located, and, as soon as the convention comes into force, no state will have the right to move those stocks to any location other than their place of destruction. We propose that this is done under very strict international control. In other words, in practical terms, each warehouse and each stock will have to be placed under the authority of international verification officers. This monitoring will obviously have to be permanent. The transfer of weapons to their place of destruction would also have to be carried out under strict control and the means of transport used would have to be sealed, if necessary. We see this as the only guarantee that these stocks really will be destroyed.

LE QUOTIDIEN: What about manufacture?

Viktor Karpov: This second problem is indeed rather more complex. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there is no problem. We can open all our chemical factories to inspection, but obviously we do not want technical secrets linked to the competitiveness of our chemical industry to be divulged. And we know that the main concern in the West is the same—protection of industrial secrets. But, in our view, there is no insuperable obstacle. For instance, it might be decided that the appointed inspectors would not have the right to divulge information which did not relate directly to the enterprises' ability to manufacture chemical weapons. And this information would only be passed on to the appropriate offices of an international monitoring body. We already have some experience of the "professional secrecy" observed by international inspectors thanks to the INF agreements, for instance....

LE QUOTIDIEN: Are you worried by the fact that some Third World countries, particularly the Arab countries, are establishing a link between chemical and nuclear weapons?

Viktor Karpov: You know, I was much more worried before the conference. But we did a great deal of work in many capitals before the Paris conference started. At that time, we heard more than one peremptory statement: "Until the nuclear weapons problem has been solved, there will be no chemical disarmament...." But, as the conference progressed, such positions seemed to be moderated somewhat. Nobody now really has that attitude, aside from Romania....

LE QUOTIDIEN: That must present you with a problem because by siding with a number of Arab countries, Romania moved away from Warsaw Pact positions....

Viktor Karpov: Listen, the Romanian stance is rather inconsistent. Foreign Minister Ioan Totu said that chemical weapons must be maintained to counter nuclear weapons. If you follow that argument, all "nonnuclear" states, including Romania, must be equipped with chemical weapons. But that country has frequently stated at the highest level, through President Nicolae Ceausescu, that it does not have weapons of this kind and has no intention of procuring them. Moreover, Ceausescu has signed numerous Warsaw Pact documents stating this. And, at present, Romania's delegate to this conference is defending stances which are not compatible with the Romanian Government's previous stances....

LE QUOTIDIEN: One of the main reasons for holding this conference was the fact that Iraq used chemical weapons several times over the past few years, first against Iranian soldiers and then against Kurdish civilians. Do you condemn Iraq for that action?

Viktor Karpov: We condemn any use of chemical weapons, whoever uses them and wherever they do so....

Critique of Western Use of Arms Statistics

PM1901124489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Lyutyy article under the rubric "The UN Speech: Boosting Endeavor and Action": "Behind the Statistics: A Western View of the Military Balance"]

[Text] In America people sometimes say: There are lies, damned lies, and statistics. This witty saying comes to mind when you study certain statistical reports on the military potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact published by the Western press. The number of these reports is particularly large at present, when the West is actively commenting on the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and armaments.

The importance and innovativeness of this step is obvious even to many people who are called upon "ex officio" to receive coolly everything that originates in the USSR. "An encouraging step, which we welcome"—that was the assessment of the USSR's decision given by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. General Andrew Goodpaster, former NATO supreme commander in Europe, believes that the USSR's decision "could be the most important event in the history of NATO affecting Western security."

But there are also those—though, true, there are not many of them—who refuse to see any sign of goodwill in the Soviet action. Some are already asserting categorically that the reduction in personnel will take place mainly in construction and other auxiliary subunits. Others say that only the most obsolete types of hardware, which were due for elimination [likvidatsiya] in any case, will be destroyed [unichtozheny]. And former U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger states: "What is important is not what he (the Soviet leader—A.L.) removes, if he does so at all, but what remains." And he refers to the USSR's many-times-superior forces in troops and conventional arms.

This is where the saying about statistics springs to mind, because some of the figures current in the West appear to be far from the truth. Moreover, different departments and brain trusts often put forward completely different assessments. "Western experts," the magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT writes, for instance, "differ very strongly in their estimate of the number of combat-capable ground forces that each side has in Europe." And it adds that certain specialists, far from seeing a Warsaw Pact superiority in this sphere, note either an equilibrium or even a certain numerical superiority on NATO's side. For instance, the Center for Defense Information in Washington notes NATO's numerical superiority in combat aircraft, helicopters, and large surface ships.

So, to military statistical science in the West: What are its sources, and is it always accurate? I tried to find an answer to this question some time ago at the London headquarters of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), a well-known nongovernmental organization that analyzes the correlation of military forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The institute's pro-NATO orientation has been noted more than once in our own press and elsewhere.

But something else has also been noted. On a whole series of issues the IISS, especially in recent years, has made an assessment of the state of affairs that is fairly close to the facts.

Along with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the IISS is regarded in the West as the leading nongovernmental research center in its sphere. This reason alone was enough to make my meeting with its present director, the 38-year-old Frenchman Francois Heisbourg, interesting.

[Lyutyy] "What is your assessment of the potential of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe?"

"As far as conventional arms are concerned," F. Heisbourg said, "in the opinion of the IISS the Warsaw Pact has superiority over NATO in Central Europe. But it is possible to look at this problem in different ways. One way is to count the number of tanks, aircraft, artillery pieces, infantry combat vehicles, and other types of armaments. According to the institute's information, the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states have some 50,000-52,000 tanks in the region west of the Urals. NATO has about 20,000 (30,000 according to Soviet sources—A.L.) in the region from the Atlantic to Central Europe. In quantitative terms this is a very serious imbalance. The same applies, in our view, to artillery and infantry combat vehicles. But that does not mean that there is a serious disparity in combat potential. Other components also have to be taken into account—for instance, geographical asymmetry, the quality of arms, rear services. The majority of these factors are either impossible or very difficult to measure.

"I should point out that numerical equality does not in itself guarantee stability. Stability can be guaranteed only by political means—namely, confidence-building measures. Therefore, the formulation of such measures is a factor of key importance at conventional arms talks."

[Lyutyy] "By what means and from what sources does the IISS obtain figures on the military potential of various countries?"

[Heisbourg] "A very great deal of material can be found in the open press. This may seem paradoxical, but sometimes the institute can obtain far more information from the press about the USSR's military potential than about that of Western countries. This is because of the tremendous interest in everything that happens in the Soviet Union. After obtaining reports from various sources, including the Soviet press, we compare them, analyze them, and assess them from the viewpoint of chronology and plausibility, so as to develop a feeling for which information is fairly reliable and which is disinformation. For instance, the Pentagon annually publishes its own brochure, SOVIET MILITARY MIGHT, and our calculations do not always coincide.

"It is regrettable, of course, that the USSR Defense Ministry does not yet publish official information on Soviet military expenditure or the country's Armed Forces," F. Heisbourg said. "I hope this information will appear in time."

[Lyutyy] "Have you been able to check whether or not you are mistaken in your calculations?"

[Heisbourg] "Yes. Here, for instance, are our reports on Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. In some respects we were right, and in some we were wrong, if

you compare them with the information that was officially released by your side in connection with the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. On the SS-12 missiles, the IISS figures were right. On the SS-20, the institute's publications said that you had 441 missiles, whereas the real figure turned out to be 423. We were very wrong about the SS-23. The IISS claimed that the USSR had 20 SS-23 launchers, whereas, according to your official figures, there were 85," F. Heisbourg noted.

As you can see, even those specialists concerned with military statistics in the West who are regarded as most reliable in their estimates are not guaranteed against errors or the incorrect interpretation of Soviet intentions. Nor can it be ruled out that such interpretations are not infrequently the result of a direct "social demand." Quite recently the French journal LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE published an article by retired Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, who sees a distortion of the truth in the IISS director's interpretation of the USSR's decision unilaterally to reduce its Armed Forces and armaments. In Sanguinetti's view, in stating that the USSR is reducing its armed forces by 10 percent Heisbourg is working on the basis of the total numerical strength of the Soviet regular Army cited in the latest IISS annual—5,096,000 men. However, the retired admiral writes, if he deducted from that figure the 1,476,000 men who are drafted into the Army but are not armed, who carry out work on the construction of railroads and infrastructure or are employed in production and civil defense, as well as another 400,000 men in the strategic forces to which the treaties on nuclear arms limitation and reduction apply, then the real numerical strength of the USSR's conventional armed forces would amount to just over 3.2 million. Thus the declared reduction would come to a figure in excess of 15 percent.

The other day I contacted IISS Headquarters by telephone. Director F. Heisbourg was out. His deputy John Ross, a British Army colonel, took the call. We did not start an argument over the IISS statistical reports. I asked Ross to comment on the Soviet decision announced at the United Nations.

"This is a highly significant and very desirable step on the part of your President Gorbachev," the expert said. "The decision is, in my view, partly motivated by the desire to reduce the Soviet Union's military spending. At the same time it is carefully calculated to remove some of the concerns of Western countries. The USSR's decision was on a far larger scale than experts had expected. It was a bit of a surprise, and is undoubtedly a good omen for the prospects of the conventional arms talks."

[Lyutyy] "Your opinion on the possible NATO reaction?"

[Ross] "First, a quick reaction can hardly be expected. The USSR announced its decision at a rather inconvenient time for the West—in the period of transition from one administration to another in the United States. So I think until the new American President has consulted both with his aides and with his allies we can hardly expect a concrete response. As for the nature of the reaction, I find it hard to guess. On the one hand it could be argued that the West should not do anything at all, because the USSR still has superiority. On the other, there could be statements that NATO simply does not have a reserve in numbers of troops and arms so as to respond with a reduction on its side. By all appearances we should expect a cautious, rather than bold, step by the West, although surprises are possible. In any event, I repeat, a favorable atmosphere has been created for the conduct of conventional arms talks," J. Ross concluded.

Thus, whatever quantitative measure Western experts apply to the USSR's decision, the vast majority of them agree that the Soviet Union's unilateral initiative is capable of giving a powerful qualitative boost to the forthcoming talks on armed forces and conventional arms.

Roundtable on Disarmament, Afghanistan, U.S.
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["International Observers at the Roundtable" program, presented by Boris Andrianov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator, with Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, chief editor of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA magazine]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades. Here we are at the start of our traditional Sunday meeting at the roundtable. Particpating today is my colleague Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, foreign political commentator at All-Union Radio, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, chief editor of the newspaper GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA magazine. The Vienna meeting of representatives of the countries particpating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ended this week. This was the third all-European forum since Helsinki, where on 1 August 1975 the leaders of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada signed the Final Act, which contained principles for relations between countries and constituted a code for peaceful coexistence between countries of differing social structures. A long-term program was worked out at the conference in Finland's capital for expanding and giving impetus to cooperation in the spheres of economics, science, technology, and protection of the environment, as well as exchanges in the spheres of culture, education, information, and contacts between people. All this constituted the essence of the Helsinki Accords, reflecting a general human interest in peace, disarmament, and the development of cooperation and mutual understanding. It was in this way that the founding of a new stage in easing international tension was laid, which acquired the name of the Helsinki process.

[Agayants] The road from Helsinki to Vienna lay through Belgrade and Madrid, where, let me remind you, meetings took place from October 1977 to March 1978, and from November 1980 to September 1983. It should be stated frankly that it was in no way a bed of roses traveling along this road. Perhaps there is no point in concealing why traveling along this road turned out to be difficult.

Let's recall the Final Act, adopted in Helsinki. As people began to say later, it was composed of three baskets. In the first basket was the section of the final document dealing with military and political questions of security; in the second was commercial, economic, scientific, technical, and ecological cooperation; and in the third basket were the issues that dealt with humanitarian cooperation.

[Kassis] To be more exact, in the third basket there were the sections of the Final Act concerning human rights, but these sections did not, as it were, exist for us. To put it metaphorically, the Soviet side for a long time tried to put all its eggs in one of the baskets of the Final Act, into the military and political basket. However, the course of the events showed that this basket was too small.

Although progress was felt most of all in this very sphere of disarmament, the other problems did not diminish as a result. Why? Because there can be no genuine security without economic cooperation, without contacts between people, without exchange of information, ideas, and most important of all, without real observation of human rights. The last is only possible, in my opinion, when there exists a corresponding level of economic development and democracy in society, and also when its members take an active civil role in it. You can of course argue with me, but I submit that one can seriously talk of an all-European home only once one recognizes the extreme importance of solving the problem of human rights as well as military and political problems.

[Andrianov] I think that it is a matter here not of the way things are phrased, but rather in the very sense of the judgments. No one will deny that there is great significance in a comprehensive approach to the problems of security, when military and political aspects are closely linked to solving issues of cooperation in the spheres of economics, culture, ecology, humanitarian problems, contacts between people, and, naturally, human rights. Is it really not clear that only civilized relations, capable of enriching the political culture of all the participants in the Helisnki process, will bring closer together opinions and ideas, which without regular contacts and a desire to understand one another, can seem selfish, sometimes even absurd? Any fruitful ideas, and only if they assume forms understandable to all participants of the Helsinski process, will be fully admissible. However, in turn, it would be correct to correlate reasonable national interests with the interests of general security.

[Agayants] You know, Boris Vasilyevich, when I have had occasion to spend time abroad, on several occasions I have heard said the following: Europeans feel like a stretch of grass on which two elephants, the two superpowers, are romping about. It doesn't matter whether they argue with each other or live peacefully, they trample down the grass in any case. Let's be frank; it's a very sad metaphor, but let's think for a moment. Haven't we ourselves given cause for such a figurative comparison by sometimes not appreciating fully the role of Europe in international politics? Haven't situations been created which have nurtured the image of two elephants on the doomed and submissive grass? It is probably sufficient to recall how the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States were broken off, talks relating directly to the security of Europe, or by contrast, how the United States and the USSR concluded a bilateral agreement without the direct participation of Europeans. This is what happened after all.

[Kassis] Well, you've put it perfectly, as we say. We did see such situations. Now one must draw lessons from this past. I submit that in the present conditions both official

circles and the public must show more consistency in consolidating the most valuable thing we have gained from the Helsinki process, and that is the participation in it of virtually all the states of Europe, the United States, and Canada, the equality of everyone, of large, medium, and small members of military and political alliances and of neutral, nonaligned states. This, incidentally, was manifested in the principle of consensus, that is, of general agreement, and also the principles for relations between the states of Europe, which were accepted by all.

[Andrianov] One other thing that is very important now. It is necessary to ensure the dynamism of the Helsinki process and the scrupulous observance of those realities which were recognized by all those who signed in Helsinki the Final Act of 1975. Any other approach would be explosive. One must be aware of the fact that stability in Europe is in the interests of all. The new thinking today and the new approach to international matters by the Soviet Union and its allies creates fundamentally new possibilities to break the deadlock in many problems that have burdened international relations in Europe and in the world at large. However, in this connection one should not be seduced by the hope that the new thinking, which we have only just started to assimilate ourselves if we speak with our hands on our hearts, will immediately become the guiding principle for the activity of all European politics and diplomacy. Time, patience, and persistence are needed.

[Agayants] This is precisely what has been confirmed by the Vienna meeting, which began on 4 November 1986 and turned into a real marathon, lasting 2 years and 2 and ½ months. During that time there were frequent occasions when feelings might have surfaced and ruined the whole thing. But, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, we were always restrained by the realization that peace is not a gift from on high, that nobody is going to hand it to us on a plate. The Soviet Union was thus patient and continued to work persistently and doggedly in search of solutions and an agreement to everyone's liking. While inviting others to make sensible compromises, we ourselves over that period covered considerable ground in understanding and assessing certain problems that had sometimes given rise to the most bitter clashes in Vienna. As a result time, patience, and persistence prevailed, and this is reflected in the final document of the Vienna meeting.

[Kassis] This document is already being described not just as the draft but also as the charter of our common European home. After all, the Vienna meeting established norms for contacts between states. These are fully in line with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, which proclaims respect for national sovereignty and the right of each state to make independent decisions. The agreement reached in Vienna is a fundamentally new milestone on the way to a qualitatively different state of affairs in Europe. At the same time, it constitutes in essence, a substantial development in today's understanding of the world. The Soviet Union sees the Vienna meeting accords as something far greater than merely a major step in the development of the great all-union process placing our continent on a higher level of security and cooperation.

[Andrianov] Confirmation of this is given by the talks planned for this March between all 35 participant countries on militant measures for reinforcing trust and security, and those between 23 participant countries—the 7 Warsaw Pact members and the 16 NATO members—on conventional armed forces and arms in Europe. The objective of these latter talks, as defined in the mandate appended to the final document, is to establish stability and security in Europe at lower levels of armed forces and conventional arms by eliminating existing asymmetries and removing the potential for sudden attacks or large-scale offensive operations. All types of arms and equipment deployed on land are to be reduced, including launchers for dual-purpose systems. The talks will take in the region from the Atlantic to the Urals, including all the island territories belonging to the participants, as well as most of Asiatic Turkey and Soviet Transcaucasia.

[Agayants] Answering questions from the editors of PRAVDA, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that the final document together with the mandate for the talks on conventional arms and armed forces constitute an unprecedented event in their content, their aims, and their probable positive consequences not only for Europe but for the whole world. It's also unprecedented and instructive in the nature of the preparations for such practical decisions by so many very different countries at once. Our country is ready to continue the dialogue, debate, and search for solutions to all the problems. Unless joint solutions are found, the world community will be unable to shake off the global danger, or open up the way to a peaceful period.

[Andrianov] To some extent our generation can forecast the situation in which the future generation will live, not just 1 or 2 years ahead, but decades. Modeling of the future is facilitated not only by ultra-modern technology but primarily by the new political thinking, which is gaining ever more ground both in the West and East. Nevertheless, there remains what one might call a certain percentage of unforeseen risk.

[Kassis] It's noticeable that all the mass media have recently been focusing their attention increasingly closely on the Republic of Afghanistan. Political and state leaders are quite naturally asking what the future of that long-suffering state will be? Will peace and calm triumph in that blood-soaked land, or will the unrestrained war continue to mow down innocent people and devastate towns and villages?

[Agayants] Those responsible for the civil war in Afghanistan and who have stood and continue to stand behind the rebels, supplying them with weapons, ammunition, and dollars, remain true to form: continuing the bloodshed and rejecting any sensible proposal out of hand. To judge by numerous irrefutable facts, the United States has acquired a liking for the delirious ideas of the ringleaders of the Alliance of Seven, who are counting on establishing their own personal dictatorship in Kabul. Washington is paying for this, paying generously and extravagantly, and continuing to flout the letter and spirit of the Geneva package, which after all, the United States accepted in front of the whole world.

[Kassis] Yes, that's precisely the standpoint from which the reactionaries are approaching the solution of the whole Afghan problem. On the other hand, concern, anguish, and responsibility for the future of their compatriots are contained in virtually all the statements and speeches by the country's present leadership headed by President Najibullah. All the proposals of today's Kabul are aimed at creating conditions for national reconciliation, establishing a peaceful and creative life, and, as a result, rapid economic recovery.

The Afghan public continues to discuss with interest the new Soviet initiative on Afghanistan contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session.

[Andrianov] It ought to be stressed that these ideas are meeting with approval among the most varied strata of the country's population, including those who have not always supported the state authorities in everything. As for the true patriots, they see a political solution to the problem in the creation of a coalition government involving representatives of all sides, including those who are continuing their unrestrained war against the present government.

[Kassis] On a recent work trip to Poland I spoke to some local journalists about the irreconcilables, about their armed activities, their provocations, and subversion. One of my colleagues half-jokingly, half seriously, said: I have read that the Japanese have invented an unusual new alarm clock the size of a large bean. Before going to sleep you put it under your pillow, and when it's time to wake up it emits an audio signal. If you keep on sleeping it starts vibrating so powerfully it could wake the dead.

Well, it struck me that it would be a good idea to arrange this kind of punishment for the ringleaders of the Alliance of Seven, to make them open their eyes more widely and finally wake up and recover from their criminal delusions. On the one hand, of course, there is an extremist section of the opposition which lives by war and handouts from abroad and which therefore refuses to accept the policy of national reconciliation.

[Andrianov] On the other hand, however, there's the Afghan Army. There are the units of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and State Security, and there are the highly effective special purpose guards who have everything they need, including the most modern weapons, to sober up those who have opted for the use of force.

[Kassis] As Comrade Shevardnadze noted, the policy of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan remains as ever oriented toward achieving a comprehensive Afghan settlement, toward resolving inter-Afghan differences by peaceful means at the negotiating table. The Soviet Union fully supports the efforts being made by the Republic of Afghanistan in this direction.

[Agayants] Our country intends to continue rendering comprehensive assistance to the Afghan people in their striving for peace and progress, in healing the wounds inflicted by war. The restoration of peace on Afghan soil will provide an added impetus to our cooperation, which will undoubtedly increase.

[Andrianov] On the calendar of the most important events in the past week, 20 January, I think, holds a special place. For it was on that day that the official swearing-in ceremony—or inauguration, as they call it—was held in the U.S. capital for the new, 41st, U.S. President, George Bush.

[Agayants] At a cost, as we know, of approximately $30 million.

[Andrianov] Yes, the procedure itself and the associated celebrations, which will continue for a week in various forms, have cost a packet, as they say. The invitations for a dinner with the new occupant of the White House cost, for instance, $1,500. It's known that the special inauguration committee sent out 60,000 invitations to the official ceremony, and a mass of souvenirs have been produced.

[Kassis] Yes, but that's enough of all these festivities. For us, of course, it's more important to know what comes next, what domestic and foreign policy decisions George Bush is going to make. The administration's program of action announced by the new U.S. President after taking the oath identified priority areas, of which the economy is among the most important. This is understandable because the federal budget deficit and the state of the country's trade and payments balance are causing serious concern both among specialists and among ordinary Americans.

[Andrianov] Not only Americans. Most Western political leaders believe that the U.S. double deficit since the mid-seventies has become one of the main destabilizing factors in international economic relations.

[Agayants] You can say that again, Boris Vasilyevich! In the 8 years that the Reagan administration has been in power the United States has gone from being the biggest

creditor to the biggest debtor in the capitalist world. If the present dangerous trend continues, the U.S. net foreign debt could exceed $1 trillion by the beginning of the nineties.

[Kassis] Paradoxical, isn't it? The richest and most economically developed country is at the same time the biggest debtor.

[Agayants] Yes, it's a paradox, but at the same time, alas, a painful reality, which means that Reaganomics is bequeathing a very heavy burden to the new head of state.

[Andrianov] Yes, I think George Bush and his team will have to rack their brains on this problem. Bush will either succeed in pulling the U.S. economy out of it's no-go debt situation and thus maintain the U.S. dominance in the capitalist world, or else the United States could turn into a helpless and pitiful giant, for there is no third option.

[Kassis] Aren't you being rather too absolute with such forecasts, Boris Vasilyevich?

[Andrianov] Not in the least. Eminent U.S. economists have warned and continue to warn about this. This was said as far back as 1979 by former Defense Secretary Schlesinger. And I have no grounds to doubt him.

[Agayants] Particularly as all these calculations and others of this kind are confirmed by facts, and the facts are a stubborn thing. In a word, the new U.S. Adminstration faces a most serious task in the sphere of domestic problems. That could not be clearer, just as it is clear that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible altogether, to be equal to this task by copying or repeating the approaches of Reaganomics. And here—you see how everything in today's world is intertwined and interconnected—here a great deal will depend on the foreign policy course of the new administration, its plans and intentions in the arms sphere, and, I think, on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Kassis] As for the latter, there are every grounds for assuming that the Moscow-Washington dialogue will be continued in the interests of the peoples of our countries, in the interests of peoples throughout the world and of international cooperation. George Bush has made his views quite clear on this.

[Andrianov] This is true. The new U.S. President speaks quite definitely about continuing with the policies of the Reagan administration, but at the same time with great caution when referring to the need to study the problems and to form his own opinion.

[Agayants] Which is quite understandable nonetheless. However, without lapsing to euphoria, one wants all the same to hope that 1989 will be no less successful in these terms than the previous ones.

[Kassis] Yes, the world is changing, becoming a different place literally before our very eyes. A desire to realize what processes are occurring on our earth and to understand them is superseding suspiciousness, hostility, and confrontation. Evidently from this comes even more optimism than before in appraisals and forecasts. In international affairs, the newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote recently that 1988 was one of those rare years in our memory of which it can be said that it marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. In all senses this was a watershed year, the end of a world made up of two states, and the beginning of a world made up of many.

[Andrianov] This is a thoughtful and noteworthy conclusion. It concerns the internationalization of major political processes and problems , which is exactly what was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at his meeting with representatives from the Trilateral Commission that took place in the Kremlin on 18 January.

[Agayants] Incidentally this meeting itself and the speech there by the Soviet leader are the focus of world public attention. And today lots of comments on this event from the foreign mass media and eminent political and public figures from various countries are coming in to our editorial office.

[Andrianov] The representatives of the Trilateral Commissic.. —this is a nongovernmental organization joining together prominent figures from Western politics and business, a think tank if you like, for the United States, Western Europe, and Japan—came to us in connection with preparations for a new, special report that will be devoted to East-West relations in the conditions that are taking shape in the world under the influence of our restructuirng and of international affairs based on new political thinking.

[Agayants] The main thing that the interlocutors of the Soviet leader were interested to know was how he assessed the possibilities of restructuring, how long would it take to implement its ideas, and when would it be possible to talk of the Soviet Union's economy becoming an integral part of the world economic system.

[Kassis] Mikhail Sergeyevich answered all these questions very precisely and fully, stressing that it is time for everyone to free themselves from the primitive cliches of the past. This applies equally to both our ideas of present-day capitalist society and the concept of socialism that is still current in the West. Comrade Gorbachev reminded those taking part in the meeting of the Soviet people's devotion to the socialist choice and that our restructuring is a revolutionary attempt to impart a new quality to socialism.

[Andrianov] Since this is so, Mikhail Sergeyevich stated, and as we are not demanding that supporters of the capitalist system renounce their values, we have to be

realists and find new forms of cooperation in the world process. Thus, the matter on the agenda now is what forms such cooperation should take.

[Agayants] Hence, by the way, the great importance both from a theoretical and particularly from a practical viewpoint of the conclusion about the need to approach afresh the very idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, taking into account the terrible dangers in the modern world and also the circumstance that we have all become much more dependent on one another. The attempts to overcome the contradictions between the systems by means of the arms race and preparations for war proved to be unrealistic and extremely dangerous. There is one way out, as Comrade Gorbachev stressed. Let each of the systems prove its ability to adapt to the new realities and processes, and the differences between them ought to be viewed as an incentive for exchange and cooperation and as a source of benefit for both sides.

[Kassis] Well, the Kremlin meeting between the Soviet leader and the representatives of the Trilateral Commission has become another shining example of the fact that an open and useful dialogue is gradually gaining momentum, and this can only give hope to all those interested in a peaceful sky over our earth and in genuine and mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Andrianov] On such an optimistic note we will end today's roundtable meeting. Its participants thank you for your attention, comrade listeners. Goodbye, all the best.

'Disinformation Campaign' Aimed at East Europe

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[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—TASS political observer Aleksandr Kondrashev writes:

The disinformation campaign organized by a section of the Western press with regard to the countries of Eastern Europe obviously does not fit in with the beneficial process of strengthening trust between East and West and implementing practical measures in the sphere of disarmament. While having gone over to more restrained tones in reporting Soviet realities, a number of U.S. and British newspapers and magazines are not skimping with their gloomy forecasts directed at East European socialist countries. "Economic collapse at hand," "slide toward a revolutionary explosion," "military coups," and even "the possibility of a new Soviet invasion" are being predicted.

The authors are using patently flawed arguments to back up their computations: conflict between conservative fathers and radical sons, "a natural inclination toward the West," "the desire to break out from under Soviet tutelage." The course being proposed to the ruling circles of Western countries is, as a whole, the old one: the tactic of erecting bridges with the aim of detaching the East European countries from the USSR.

But on what are these ominous forecasts based? It looks as though they are merely vain attempts to present one's hopes as reality. In actual fact, how can one talk seriously about the possibility of a Soviet intervention if the USSR is already setting about withdrawing and subsequently disbanding a significant proportion of its troops in the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary in the immediate months ahead.

Economic difficulties and problems in Poland, Hungary, and a number of other East European countries do indeed exist. But one cannot fail to see the efforts of the ruling parties, which are implementing innovative programs of economic and political reforms, to overcome them. As for such arguments as the strikes in Poland or the price increases in Hungary, one can predict with the same amount of success a collapse for any country in the West, where there are dozens of labor conflicts weekly and where prices sometimes shoot up much more steeply. One can also recall that the present economic difficulties in a number of European socialist countries are often caused by the burden of external debt to Western banks and the crushing conditions of the credits offered by them. This too is well known in the West.

The question arises: Why is it necessary to conjure up "collapse," "revolts," and "the threat of Soviet intervention?" Evidently it is not simply hardy stereotypes from the previous confrontational period, but also a peculiar reaction of the conservative forces of the West to Soviet restructuring and to the vigorous increase in the Western public's liking for the USSR. Against this background it is already impossible to cultivate the "enemy image," to frighten the West with a Soviet military threat. So attention has been focused on a new subject, East Europe, but with the previous aim: to discredit socialism and to blacken the socialist outlook in the eyes of their own working people.

And that's not all. As it emerges from the recommendations of THE WASHINGTON TIMES, the British magazine THE ECONOMIST, and other publications of a conservative stamp, the governments of Western countries should place their stakes not on honest negotiations with the East on an equal footing, but on detaching East European countries from the USSR, on dismantling socialism, and on causing the disintegration of the socialist community. It is typical that the less the governments of Western countries pay heed to these counsels and demonstrate greater realism and flexibility in their relations with the socialist countries, the more persistently are these recommendations offered.

A new political climate reigns today in Europe and the world over. But it is always useful to remember history: It has shown more than once that similar recommendations put forward and implemented in the past never

yielded the desired effect for Western countries. On the other hand, they poisoned the international atmosphere and undermined trust between East and West for a long time. There can hardly be any sense in such a repetition of the past.

General Staff Representative Views CSCE Process

PM1801145189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel I. Bogdanov, representative of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin under the rubric "Topical Interview" and the heading "Confidence-Building Measures: Foundations and Prospects"—date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Five years ago, on 17 January 1984, the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe got under way in the Swedish capital. Its first stage reached its conclusion on 19 September 1986 with the adoption of a substantive, far-reaching document designed to reduce the danger of military confrontation on a continent more tightly packed with arms than any other.

Colonel I. Bogdanov, a representative of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, answered the questions of our KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent.

[Markushin] Igor Sergeyevich, what place is held by the Stockholm Conference in the system of ensuring security and cooperation in Europe?

[Bogdanov] The Stockholm Conference should be regarded as one of the most important links in the all-European process. In 1975, as a result of the efforts of 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada, we saw the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act, which determines the fundamental directions to be taken in the development of this process. Important steps have also been taken in the military sphere. The participant-states have pledged to notify each other in good time (21 days prior notice) of any major military exercises and, on the basis of goodwill, invite observers to attend. These accords have been in effect for more than 10 years now. They have become the basis for further steps in this direction. So, Stockholm was the next step.

[Markushin] What practical accords have supplemented the Helsinki Final Act?

[Bogdanov] The Stockholm Document formulates provisions on the nonuse or threat of force and elaborates detailed provisions on giving prior notice of 42 days for exercises, redeployments, and concentrations of ground, amphibious, and air assault troops, and provisions on inviting observers from all states participating in the conference to such forms of activity. A new measure has also been agreed—to exchange annual plans of notifiable military activity—and certain provisions made to limit major military exercises.

The fact that we have succeeded for the first time in reaching an accord on an issue that has been a stumbling block for many years—monitoring the implementation of agreed measures with the aid of on-site inspections—is of fundamental importance.

Our experience of more than 2 years in putting the Stockholm measures into practice has confirmed their viability. They work in the interests of strengthening trust and are sufficiently effective. After all, in the time that has passed so far, the military activity of ground forces has been placed under strict monitoring and become more open and predictable. The NATO countries gave notification of 30 of their exercises and the Warsaw Pact, of 46; foreign observers attended 17 NATO exercises and 15 Warsaw Pact exercises. The two alliances carried out nine inspections each on one another's territory. Soviet inspectors visited the FRG, Britain, Turkey, and Norway.

Unfortunately, not all military activity is strictly monitored. The confidence-building measures do not extend to major components of the Armed Forces—the Air Force and the Navy—and their independent activity.

[Markushin] So the intention is obviously to develop this process further? Which direction will it take?

[Bogdanov] Let us start by pointing out that the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is not yet completed. Only one stage is complete. The Vienna meeting, which adopted a decision to resume the work of the conference, has now come close to its conclusion. Talks on a new range of confidence-building and security measures will evidently begin in March within the framework of this conference. The position of the Warsaw Pact countries, which their representatives will take to these talks, is set out in the Budapest statement of the foreign ministers committee issued in October 1988.

The main thrust of our approach is to extend confidence-building measures to air force and naval activity, which is extremely intensive and a source of serious concern to the peoples of Europe. The next point: The scale of activity by all branches of the Armed Forces should be restricted. We also believe it is necessary to look for ways to extend the measures to the territory of the United States and Canada, a considerable proportion of whose armed forces are intended for the European theater of war. We must also discuss essentially new measures, such as the creation of zones of increased trust and reduced concentration of forces along the line of contact between the two alliances, the possible creation of a center to reduce the danger of war in Europe, and so

forth. Finally, it is intended to work for the establishment of even more effective measures to monitor the fulfillment of the accords, including on-site inspections without right of refusal.

In my opinion, this is a perfectly realistic program. Particularly if you consider our initiative for a unilateral reduction in armed forces.

Balkan Conference Shows Regional 'Goodwill'
PM2401092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "Regional Meetings": "Peace and Cooperation for the Balkans"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jan—The Bulgarian press is providing extensive information on the results of the meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries held on 18-20 January in Tirana.

The meeting's joint communique outlined further specific measures to develop multilateral collaboration among the Balkan countries in the political, economic, and cultural spheres and stressed the intention of the Balkan states to cooperate in the matter of turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. The deputy ministers reached agreement on the venue and date of the upcoming meeting of heads of the Balkan countries' diplomatic departments. It will take place in Tirana this fall.

The Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes that the meeting in the Albanian capital imparted new momentum to the organization of practical collaboration in the region. Despite differences between their positions, the Balkan states are highlighting their desire to deepen cooperation. This trend is confirmed by the opinions expressed by the leaders of the delegations in an interview with the paper. The goodwill displayed at the meeting, Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister M. Kapllani said, is evidence of the potential for expanding inter-Balkan cooperation in various spheres.

The pan-Balkan process, Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister I. Ganev said, is gathering pace and is becoming a characteristic element of our region's political development. The meeting in the Albanian capital took place in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere for which we are indebted to our Albanian hosts.

Representatives of the Greek, Romanian, Turkish, and Yugoslav foreign policy departments pointed out the importance of continuing efforts to strengthen cooperation and mutual understanding.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev, Bush Talk in 'Constructive Spirit'

PM2401093989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telephone Conversation Between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush"]

[Text] A telephone conversation was held on the evening of 23 January between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President George Bush. He thanked M.S. Gorbachev for the congratulations sent to him on his inauguration as U.S. President. He declared that in his activity he will pursue the line of expanding cooperation and deepening mutual understanding for the benefit of both countries and of the entire world community.

For his part, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said that the Soviet leadership attaches great importance to Soviet-U.S. relations and that the President can count on its being ready to continue the joint quest for ways to further improve these relations, which will no doubt have an effect on the entire world situation.

A number of specific questions were touched on during the conversation. The conversation proceeded in the atmosphere of amicability which has typified contacts between the Soviet and U.S. leaderships in recent times. All questions were discussed in a constructive spirit.

Bush Rejects Charges of 'Excessive Caution'

PM2401104389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "President's First Interview"]

[Text] New York, 23 Jan—In an interview with NEWSWEEK and TIME magazines, U.S. President George Bush dwelt on a number of questions of the new U.S. Administration's domestic policy and touched on Soviet-U.S. relations.

The White House chief declared his intention to make greater efforts, jointly with Congress, to solve the paramount problem inherited from previous administrations—the federal budget deficit. He emphasized that, as long this problem remains unsolved, the new administration has only limited opportunities to take measures on environmental protection, the development of the education system, and other spheres.

"I want," Bush went on, "first of all to conduct a broad evaluation of the Soviet Union and the direction in which we feel it is moving, and also to evaluate what I as President can do to assist this process, to assist the improvement of our relations, but to do this sensibly and cautiously.... We want to build on a common foundation, but I do not intend to hurry just because some people believe that the present pace could be lost."

"I intend to cautiously analyze everything at the moment when I decide the question of the direction in which we are to move," [sentence as published], the President noted. "We have very good people, experienced people to do this. We do not intend to waste time." "This style, which some people feel is distinguished by somewhat excessive caution, is useful for U.S.-Soviet relations. I want to be in a position to deliver what I propose, and I want to propose something sensible."

For his part Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, declared in an interview with ABC-TV that the new U.S. Administration does not intend to "delay or postpone" the talks on strategic offensive arms. "We would like to be convinced," he emphasized, "that these talks are moving in a direction which is in line with our interests." In his words, the "cold war" is not over yet but, as people say, there is light at the end of the tunnel. "I think," Scowcroft went on, "that it is what we do that will determine whether that light is sunshine or the headlight of an oncoming locomotive."

The George Bush Administration must hold talks with the aim of concluding new agreements with the Soviet Union in the arms control sphere. This opinion was expressed by more than three-fourths of participants in a public opinion poll in the southern United States by the newspaper ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION. An approximately equal number of Americans declared their conviction that President Bush will pursue this course toward the USSR. More than one-half of those polled believe that the United States must reduce expenditure on NATO bloc programs and other "military commitments," while around one-third hold that the Pentagon budget must also be cut back. A similar poll conducted 8 years ago showed that this opinion was held by only 6 percent of inhabitants of southern states.

Commentary Reacts to Scowcroft Remark on Cold War

LD2401001989 Moscow World Service in English
2210 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] President Bush's national security adviser, Mr Brent Scowcroft, in an interview with the ABC Television Network on Sunday, spoke among other things about the prospects for further relations with the Soviet Union. Here is more from our analyst Yuriy Solton:

[Solton] Mr Scowcroft's statements, he says, have been missed in Moscow, especially his view that the new administration had no intention of either slowing down or putting off strategic offensive arms talks with the Soviet Union. But his words that the cold war between his country and the Soviet Union was not over yet—although as he put it, the light could emerge at the end of the tunnel—seem far too pessimistic. Yes, the two countries are stil at odds over a range of issues and solutions

to them. Concentrating on the differences at a time when the new Administration is getting down to produce a foreign policy strategy could hardly be useful. It would seem more conducive to focus on the already existing points of agrement, such as disarmamemnt and bilateral relations.

Mr Scowcroft's fears that President Gorbachev is out to (?sow unrest) among NATO countries by launching his peace offensive, including the Soviet proposal on conventional arms cuts, are unjustified. The Soviet leadership has (?nobler plans) to pursue. The Soviet moves aim at significantly lowering the levels of military confrontation and at greater confidence-building (?as) cooperation among nations. (?Though it's thinking different) Moscow would never have agreed to unilateral cuts in armed forces by 500,000 troops, or to a unilateral elimination of chemical weapons, or to the withdrawl of 50,000 troops from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, including 6 tank divisions and related tactical nuclear weapons.

It remains unclear what kind of compelling evidence is needed to persuade Mr Scowcroft that the shifts in Soviet foreign policy are real and durable. President Bush, meanwhile, seems to hold a more optimistic view, saying a thorough analysis is needed to evaluate the ongoing processes in the Soviet Union and on the strength of this analysis, as he said in an interview with the NEWSWEEK and TIME, to plan the steps which he as President could take to improve bilateral relations. And that no doubt sounds encouraging.

Bush Approach to Soviets 'Smacks' of Distrust

LD2301212489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As you know, of course, comrades, a new administration has acceded to discharging its duties in the United States. As yet, it's true, it isn't undertaking any specific steps, either in the sphere of internal or foreign policy. This is natural, as only 3 days have passed since Bush's official accession to office, and he and the members of his government need time to look around and get used to their new chairs. But there is no lack of varius statements on the future direction of the White House's course. I have in mind not only the speech by Bush himself at his inauguration ceremony, but also his interviews—and by the way, the first one he has given as President is published in today's editions of the journals TIME and NEWSWEEK—and the address by Bush's national security advisor, Scowcroft, in an ABC television program on Sunday. The range of issues touched on by both was very wide-ranging. But I, because of our limited time, would like to dwell just on their remarks regarding Soviet-U.S. relations, that is, the problem of most concern to us. I will ask my colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, to share his thoughts on this subject. [passage omitted]

[Ptashnikov] As concerns Bush's opinion on the need for an extremely cautious approach to relations with the Soviet Union, this caution in the mouth of Bush, in my opinion, smacks very much of distruct.

[Announcer] Well, you know, it seems to me that caution was always one of the main features of both the character and the activities of major political and state figures, so I think there's nothing surprising in the words of Bush.

[Ptashnikov] In general that's so. But you must agree with me that in this case the USSR has already adequately shown the sincerity of its intentions to continue moving along the road of improving Soviet-U.S. relations, and invigorating the disarmament process, moreover, unilaterally. So such an experienced politician as Bush could have understood this, the more so as in his speech during the inauguration, he himself stated the extreme importance of preserving the new, close relations with our country. [passage omitted]

'Challenges' Facing Bush Administration Viewed

PM2001101189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Subbotin article: "Workdays Will Follow the Festivities. George Bush Takes Up His Post in the White House"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] U.S. politicians love the word "challenge." They are constantly either throwing down a challenge to someone, or conversely accepting one and giving a fitting response, of course. Right now a number of challenges to which George Bush and his "team" will have to respond in the near future have already clearly emerged.

In the unanimous opinion of observers in the U.S. capital, the U.S. Administration's paramount task in the sphere of foreign policy will be to elaborate a joint response by Western countries to the initiatives put forward by the Soviet leadership on the reduction of its own Armed Forces and the destruction of its stocks of chemical weapons. The latter will be a kind of touchstone to test the earnestness and responsibility of the preelection statements made by the President, who has more than once declared his commitment to the idea of the total prohibition and elimination of this type of mass destruction weapon.

The new U.S. Administration has declared its desire to actively continue the negotiations on nuclear missile disarmament. However, the intention of the U.S. side to make a detailed study of the situation prevailing at the talks, which may, according to its spokesmen, take 2-12 months, is causing some concern.

The main challenge on the "domestic scene" is without any doubt the budget deficit. George Bush has promised to deal with the problem without raising taxes. Today even the industrialists and finance experts who are

closest to him do not believe that this is feasible. The President has not yet had his say. Meanwhile Richard Darman, who has been appointed director of the Office of Management and Budget, has proposed a highly original way out of the impasse.

As has emerged from documents obtained by CBS Television, Darman is doing his utmost to explain to Congress what he regards as taxes. According to the view of the director of the Office of Management and Budget, "under certain circumstances" the tax on gasoline could be regarded as "payment for use." He would like to adopt a similar approach to the collection of excise duty on sales of liquor and tobacco goods and to view the tax on imported petroleum as a "tariff."

It is possible that by declaring that certain taxes are not taxes and then raising them, the budget excesses will be somewhat straightened out. However, as the Americans themselves put it jokingly, that is like prescribing aspirin to a cancer patient. The inflated Pentagon budget, which is the tumor, demands surgical intervention.

Soviet-American Economic Conference at UN Noted

LD2001141989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A Soviet-American economic conference on the subject "Toward Peace Through Trade, Investments and Development" has taken place at the UN Headquarters in New York.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Zvyagin] In the history of the UN Headquarters, this is the first time that such meetings have been held. The restructuring of international relations, the new political thinking, and the real changes in Soviet-American ties have aroused large-scale interest among U.S. business circles toward expanding cooperation with Soviet partners. The address given here at the UN by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in December has provided an impetus for this process. This was stated in the welcome speech to the participants in the economic conference by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. [video shows Perez de Cuellar making a speech; brief glimpse of Vernon Walters]

[Yu.N. Chumakov, leader of the Soviet delegation, identified from caption] The moment chosen for holding the conference is indeed of very great importance. The possibilities for the traditional forms of Soviet-American trade have by no means been exhausted, and things are now up to the American side here. If the proper conditions are created, that is to say, normal, ordinary conditions, which should exist between partners, according to our appraisal we could even on this basis substantially raise the level of Soviet-American trade.

[Zvyagin] The difficulties Yuriy Nikolayevich was speaking of are connected first of all with the notorious Jackson-Vanik amendment, which has become a serious obstacle to our trade. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Zvyagin] As a result of the 2-day long discussions, the participants at the Soviet-American meeting at the UN have drawn up a number of specific proposals to expand the economic ties between our countries, including new forms and methods of implementing them. [end recording]

TASS Reports UN Trade Talks

LD2001032089 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 19 TASS—by TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

A Soviet-American "Toward Peace Through Trade, Investments and Development" economic conference ended in the United Nations' headquarters on Wednesday. Famous Soviet and American economists, political figures and managers took part in the conference and discussed different obstacles to expanding trade and economic links between the two countries.

The two-day conference was held under U.N. auspices. The U.N. regards the forum as a step to overcoming barriers in East-West economic cooperation. One of the organisers, president of the Probe International Company Benjamin Weiner, said that many possibilities to improve American-Soviet relations appeared last year but not enough attention was paid to trade and economic links. The task of this representative conference was to define the problems which should be settled to strengthen these links.

Yuriy Chumakov, a deputy Soviet foreign minister, said that during the forum the Soviet side tried to identify, for the American side, ways of enlarging cooperation. Taxes on Soviet goods in American market are a few times higher than those imposed on products of other countries. If the U.S. removed its trade restrictions with the Soviet Union, commodity circulation between the two countries would increase by 200-300 per cent, Chumakov said.

Anthony Bruce, vice-president of the John Brown Engineering Company, said that American participants of the conference became better informed about the Soviet economic reform and the possibilities to establish joint ventures with Soviet partners. The discussion of all the problems was frank, he said.

Soviet, American Computers Linked Via Intelsat

PM2401105989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Dombkovskiy report: "Computers Talking in Space: Experiment Conducted on Unusual Link between USSR and United States"]

[Excerpt] How can information be transmitted, especially if there is a very great deal of it? You can use the telegraph—reliable, but expensive. It is quicker by telephone, but you still need to decipher the shorthand or

tape recording. The teletype is far better, but there aren't even enough of them or of phototelegraphy and facsimile machines today. Computers are beginning to "talk" to one another at tremendous speed. But for that they must be taught a common language and enabled to use communications lines and radio channels.

In our country all this activity is headed by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Applied Automated Systems—the USSR's chief center for automated communications with foreign computer networks.

"We have several hundred users," Doctor of Technical Sciences Prof O.L. Smirnov, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Applied Automated Systems, told us. "We freely use the national computer networks of all the socialist countries and Austria and Finland. But if information has to be transmitted elsewhere, say to the United States, we have to ask intermediary states for help and pay them substantial fees in foreign currency. So as to improve the communication between the offices of various joint enterprises, nongovernmental organizations, and ordinary cooperating plants, we have taken a decision together with the "San Francisco-Moscow Teleport" company, to set up a joint firm to provide telecommunications services using computers."

The first experimental transfer took place recently. Intelsat, the international communications satellite, was used as the relay transmitter. Our subcontractor was the USSR Ministry of Communications, while our American colleagues used the IDB Communications Group. The space communications center in the Moscow area provided a secure link between the two countries' communications networks in space. [passage omitted]

TASS Reports Gelb Appointment as USIA Director
LD2001110389 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 19 TASS—George Bush who will be inaugurated U.S. President on January 20, appointed Bruce Gelb USIA Director.

Now the new head of the Washington propaganda office is a board vice president of the Bristol Myers Company, a big pharmaceutical firm. Reporting this appointment, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST writes that Gelb is among long-standing friends and political supporters of Bush.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador Matlock
PM2001123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, has received J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request. They discussed a number of issues concerning bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

Murakhovskiy Meets With David Rockefeller
LD1701233589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Murakhovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, met David Rockefeller, chairman of the North American part of the Tripartite Commission, prominent U.S. public and political figure. They exchanged views on certain aspects of Soviet-U.S. cooperation.

SDI Satellite Tracking Center Planned at Misawa
LD2201110489 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Tokyo January 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Valeriy Agarkov:

The Pentagon is planning to set up a satellite tracking centre at the U.S. Base Misawa in the Japanese prefecture of Aomori, reported THE NORTHERN LIGHT newspaper published by the command of the U.S. Armed Force in Japan for the servicemen of the base.

It follows from an article to this effect that the planned centre, which is designed to track 'enemy' satellites and the construction of which is to begin in April-June this year, will be built under the 'Strategic Defence Initiative' (SDI) programme.

Two high-powered antennas as well as a centre for communication with the central command and with other similar facilities are to be built. The functioning of the centre will be ensured by a special military unit. The Pentagon is planning to bring the facility into operation in the middle of 1992.

This is the first facility of its kind to be built by the United States on Japanese territory, writes ASAHI SHIMBUN. Two similar facilities are to be deployed on the eastern coast of the United States and in Britain soon.

The tracking station at Misawa will become part of the U.S. global space watching network consisting of five ground stations one of which will operate on the territory of South Korea, the KYODO TSUSHIN NEWS AGENCY reports.

Judging by the report in THE NORTHERN LIGHT newspaper, the Pentagon's entire global space surveillance network, just as its element in Japan, is intended to track Soviet satellites and submarines.

The U.S. Air Force base at Misawa now performs the role of one of the Pentagon's basing facilities in the Far Eastern strategy of the USA. An Air Force consisting of 50 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers is stationed at the base.

The U.S. Department of Defence attaches much importance to the strengthening of the base. About 30 million dollars are to be assigned for the modernisation of Misawa Base in the U.S. military budget for the 1990 fiscal year.

Soviet Peace Delegation Departs on U.S. Visit

LD2201203089 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev

On January 22 a delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee went on a U.S. tour.

Soviet peace activists will tour the USA at the invitation of the Center for American-Soviet Initiatives which advocates stepping up contacts between ordinary people of the two countries.

"Our group consists of 20 people," Vera Romanova, member of the delegation and staffer of the Institute of the USA and Canada, told TASS. "The tour of small towns in several U.S. states will be packed and eventful. Subgroups consisting of four people each will follow five routes."

The programme of the trip which will last 22 days and will end in Washington, provides for meetings with ordinary Americans.

Seminar on Combatting Terrorism Opens in Moscow

LD2301202789 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—A seminar on the subject "Soviet-American reply to international terrorism" opened in Moscow today to consider matters concerning cooperation between the public of the Soviet Union and the United States in the fight against terrorism.

The particpants in the seminar—public figures and legal scholars—emphasized that when determining the causes of terrorist activity one should adhere to the firm line expressed in the U.N. Security Council's resolution which condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations irrespective of who resorts to it.

At present, it was pointed out at the seminar that it is necessary to press for the conclusion of clear-cut international conventions aimed at combatting terrorism.

U.S. Army Medical Delegation Arrives in Moscow

LD2301213989 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Ten American military medical specialists who have arrived in Moscow will familiarise themselves with the way medical service is organised in the USSR Armed Forces and with the tasks facing it.

Today the delegation led by Brigadier-General Rufus Dehart of the U.S. Air Force was received by Colonel-General Fyodor Komarov, head of the Central Military Medical Department of the USSR Defence Ministry.

This is the first-ever visit to the Soviet Union by U.S. military physicians. The visit is being made under the plan for contacts between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the United States for 1988-1990. The plan was signed in July last year during the visit by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev to the USA at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

While in Moscow the delegation members will visit the institute of aviation medicine, the cosmonauts training centre in Zvezdny Gorodok (Star City), and will get acquainted with the organisation of the medical service of troops in the Cantemir Armour Division.

The guests will visit the military medical academy in Leningrad, and will go to Yalta, a resort city on the Black Sea coast, where they will acquaint themselves with the work of Soviet military physicians aboard the Yenisei hospital ship.

Shostakovich Anti-Stalin Cantata Plays in U.S.

PM1801162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnyev report: "Dmitriy Shostakovich's 'Rayek'"]

[Text] New York—"Rayek" [Little Eden or Paradise] is the name of a work by Shostakovich that has never been performed before and was never published. It was performed a few days ago. This is what THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper wrote about it:

"Mstislav Rostropovich, the Soviet cellist and conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, is arranging the world premiere in Washington of Dmitriy Shostakovich's satirical cantata, which has not been published or previously performed. The cantata was composed in about 1960, but inspiration for its writing came about 12 years earlier, in 1948, when Shostakovich, Prokofiyev, and a number of other Soviet composers were censured by the Union of Soviet Composers for "formalist distortions and antidemocratic tendencies." This condemnation was prepared by Stalin and Andrey Zhdanov.

Shostakovich's cantata "Rayek" was written for four basses, a small chorus, and piano. The libretto was prepared by L. Lebedinskiy, the poet, whom Stalin had thrown into prison. Excerpts from speeches made by Stalin, Zhdanov, and D. Shepilov, who occupied the post of foreign minister, were used in the libretto.

Rostropovich did not say how he got the score or where it has been kept all these years. Rostropovich and other experts say that the cantata is genuine. "One hundred percent original," Rostropovich put it, and Maksim Shostakovich, the composer's son, confirmed that yes, he had heard his father playing this work at home.

In Rostropovich's words, only now, when the cultural climate in the Soviet Union is characterized by greater tolerance, does he feel he has the right to perform the cantata. "The Shostakovich family and I remain great friends. If the Soviet Union were today like it was before, I would not perform it; it would be too dangerous for them. Shostakovich and the Soviet people are coming together only now."

Mussorgskiy, one of Shostakovich's heroes, who also used folk tunes, which he made sound high-flown in order to mock his enemies, inspired him to write the cantata in the satirical quasi-folk genre. In this 15-minute work the parts are written for a master of ceremonies and three more people known by the numbers one, two, and three. Number one rambles on that composers must write accessible music, and at that point a Georgian folk tune is heard which any Russian would know.

Number two, citing Zhdanov, demands that the music be refined and elegant, while he himself uses some earthy language. The third character, Shepilov, repeats that music must be classical, and holds forth about the attributes of the new "Soviet man," mispronouncing in passing the names of famous Russian composers.... Let me add that the National Symphony Orchestra is performing in New York's Carnegie Hall next Sunday. The program is made up entirely of works by Shostakovich. "Rayek" will also be performed. The premiere has taken place in Washington.

China

Gorbachev Replies to PRC Worker's Letter

LD2401063089 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Chinese worker Shao Weicheng received an answer to his letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet television evening news programme Vremya reported today.

Shao Weicheng had written to the Soviet leader saying that his most cherished wish was that the peoples of China and the Soviet Union always live in friendship. He had also asked Gorbachev to send a signed photo of himself.

A representative of the Soviet Embassy in China recently handed to the Chinese worker the Soviet leader's answer and a signed photo.

Gorbachev's reply said:

"Dear Comrade Shao Weicheng,

Thank you for your friendly message. I share your thoughts and feelings.

With best regards,

Mikhail Gorbachev."

In an interview given to the Vremya programme, Shao Weicheng said he favoured stronger Chinese-Soviet relations in all areas and friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

He said he is looking forward to a forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Superpowers' 'Triangular Relations' Elaborated

OW2001231589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin 1300 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Dear listeners, in our special feature Perspective today, (Shevastiyanov), Soviet scholar of international affairs, is going to elaborate his personal views on Soviet-U.S.-Chinese triangular relations.

[(Shevastiyanov), speaking in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] As I remember, in the late 1970's a U.S. political scientist tried to convince me that contradictions between the Soviet Union and China were irreconcilable. He said: Your national interests conflict with those of China's, and such contradictions are irreconcilable. I argued strongly with him on just grounds. Time is an infallible judge. I don't know what that U.S. political scientist would say today. No matter what has happened, Sino-Soviet relations are, as a matter of fact, developing to the peak. It is gratifying to see that there is currently no unpleasant feeling whatsoever between the Soviet Union and China. Even on the question of the so-called three major obstacles, the governments of the two countries have initiated dialogue and worked together to remove the remaining obstacles on the road to complete normalization of relations. The two sides have shared similar, or even identical, views on questions concerning disarmament and relaxation of tension, and on domestic construction in their own countries. This does not mean, however, that there are no differences between us. It is basically impossible for two countries to have perfectly identical needs and tasks. What is important is that the two sides respect and consider each other's interests. In the past, both the Soviet and Chinese peoples were not apt to do so.

However, through painful lessons, the Soviet Union and China have begun to live under a new formula, and much has been accomplished. The development of the situation is beneficial not only to our two countries, but also to the world as a whole.

Improving and deepening Sino-U.S. relations is also of the same great significance. Let's recall the time of Sino-U.S. confrontation. All people became victims of the arms race and the aggravation of the international situation; the whole of mankind was living under the threat of a major conflict. In the past decade, however, relations between Beijing and Washington have been considerably improved. Of course, problems still exist. In my view they have been caused, for the most part, by outdated thinking in the United States. Some American political activists believe they can meddle in other countries' internal affairs, impose their views on China, and judge other countries by their own yardstick. These people are still obstructing Taiwan's reunification with the mainland, supporting the nationalists in Tibet, and criticizing the Chinese Government's efforts to control population growth through family planning to overcome poverty and backwardness. While selling arms in large quantities on the international market, the United States (?bans) the exportation of Chinese-made weapons.

In my view, it is time the Americans get rid of their big-power chauvinism, including that manifested in the large, triangular relationship between China, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

PRC Favors Sihanouk-Led Coalition in Cambodia

PM2401094589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Consultations Being Held"]

[Text] Beijing—Li Zhaoxing, PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman, issued the following statement at a press briefing in response to questions on China's viewpoint on the mechanism for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem: "In China's view, the early withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia could be the key to a political settlement of the Cambodian question, and following that we support the idea of creating a provisional, quadrapartite, coalition government headed by Prince Sihanouk. We oppose one side's monopolizing power in the government and also any side's exclusion." Some time ago a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman cited the Vietnamese statement of its intention to withdraw troops from Cambodia no later than September as "a step forward."

As has already beaen announced, Dinh Nho Liem, SRV first deputy foreign minister, has been in Beijing since 14 January and is holding confidential consultations with Liu Shuqing, PRC deputy foreign minister, on the political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Maslyukov, Shuren Discuss Planning Cooperation

LD1901111089 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, chief of the Soviet State Planning Agency Gosplan, and Sheng Shuren, deputy chairman of the Chinese State Planning Committee, on Thursday discussed ways of further developing cooperation between the central planning bodies of the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

Sheng is in Moscow in connection with the second meeting of a standing working group on contacts and cooperation between the planning agencies of the two countries.

Decade of Scientific Cooperation With PRC Noted

OW2001053389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] This year is the last year of the 1980's. The decade marks the rapid development of Soviet-Chinese relations. The resumption of scientific and technological cooperation in various areas between the Soviet Union and China also took place in the present decade. There are plenty of examples to show this kind of increasing cooperation. The development of cooperation has been welcomed by all. The expanding scope of cooperation extends to more advanced scientific and technological levels. Station Observer Ivanov writes in this connection.

Noted Soviet Professor Fedorov visited Beijing at the end of last year. He, along with his assistants, made some 40 microsurgical operations at the Ophthalmology Department of the Friendship Hospital. His surgical method left a profound impression on Chinese doctors. The visit was followed by a long-term cooperation plan between the two countries. The plan called for setting up a microsurgical eye operation centers in China which will annually operate on 20,000 patients. This is an example of turning a visit of scientists and experts to a long-term cooperation. A Soviet scientific and technological day was held in the People's Republic of China at the end of last year, the first of its kind in the history of relations between the two countries. This year, China's scientific and technological day will be held in the Soviet Union. The scientific and technological day will create new possibilities, greater potential, and promote the scientific and technological cooperation between our two countries.

Professor (Shen Shing) of the Research Institute of the Mechanics Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences held that the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China are very good. Both the Soviet Union and China are embarking on reforms. Though the term for reform is different, the essence is the same. The difficulties we both meet are the same. We can learn a lot from the Soviet Union in the area of space exploration, metallurgy, and machinery manufacturing. Tereshkova, world's first woman astronaut, contributed an article to

PRAVDA at the end of last year on her impression of attending space technology day in Beijing and on her visit to a carrier-rocket manufacturing plant in Shanghai. She writes: Chinese scientists highly evaluate the achievements that the Soviet Union made in the area of space industry. Chinese scientists frankly introduced China's space plan and displayed China's space technology, which made us visitors very happy. She continued: Both sides also talked about the cooperation in the area of space industry between the Soviet Union and China. In a speech made in Vladivostok in 1986, Gorbachev broached the possibility of this kind of cooperation. As the scope of scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and China is very large, it is difficult to make a detailed introduction in such a short commentary. Therefore, let's just cite a most recent example. Near a Soviet scientific survey station in Antarctica which is called 'Progress,' there is a Chinese survey station decked with a Chinese flag. China is establishing a second scientific survey station in Antarctica. Survey personnel from both countries in Antarctica are cooperating closely. The Soviet personnel help Chinese friends in selecting sites and offer assistance in daily life. That means a foundation for cooperation in a new area is established to the benefit of promoting world science and the Soviet and Chinese people.

Russian Translation Center To Open in Beijing

OW1901191789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] According to a dispatch from China's GUANGMING RIBAO, a training center for Russian language translators will open its doors in March this year in Beijing. This is a decision made by the Translators' Society of China. This center will be built on the basis of two institutes for the study of foreign languages in Beijing. The faculty members of this training center will be well-known translators in China and teaching staff members from institutions of higher learning in Beijing.

Soviet Science Book Exhibition Ends in Beijing

OW2101020689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] A delegation of the Soviet Science Publishing House returned to Moscow from Beijing.

This publishing house publishes more than 2,500 different kinds of books a year. The delegation, led by (Chebayaniyev), director of the publishing house, attended a book exhibition in Beijing sponsored by the publishing house.

The exhibition opened on 6 January and ended on 13 January. On display were nearly 400 different kinds of books, 110 journals of natural and (?managerial) sciences, 120 different kinds of books on social sciences, and 30 articles on Chinese books. Following the exhibition, all the books and journals were presented as a gift to the library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

During its visit, the delegation of the Soviet Science Publishing House and the publishing house of the Chinese Academy of Sciences signed an agreement on the establishment of direct contact between them as well as a contract to jointly publish two journals in English.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Prospects for 1989 Cambodian Settlement Reviewed

BK2301103589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] 1989 begins with new promising changes of great significance in the development of the Cambodian situation. Our observer has the following comments:

The first encouraging sign is the 6 January PRK-SRV statement. Phnom Penh and Hanoi declared that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia will be completed by September this year at the latest if a political agreement is reached. We wish to recall that Cambodia and Vietnam have already indicated their readiness to withdraw all the Vietnamese troops by the first quarter of 1990 at the latest. What is the significance of "the political agreement" mentioned by Cambodia and Vietnam? In fact, the agreement does not mean a comprehensive solution to the Cambodian problem, including Cambodia's internal matters, within a framework of reconciliation among the concerned parties in the conflict. The date by which Vietnam will withdraw its troops is effective if the following three conditions are observed: a cease-fire, a cut-off of military aid to the opposing parties, and a halt to interference, under different aspects, in Cambodia's internal affairs. It is worth noting that, in Phnom Penh and Hanoi's view, this should be done under strict international control and supervision.

The joint Cambodian-Vietnamese decision has brought about highly positive reactions from people throughout the world. In ASEAN countries, the decision has been considered as a significant and constructive step. Undeniably, it is really important because Beijing also endorsed this initiative put forth by Phnom Penh and Hanoi. In a news conference, the PRC Foreign Ministry's representative pointed out that, in China's view, the initiative would expedite a settlement to the Cambodian problem.

Another promising event is the recent unofficial meeting in Beijing on Cambodia between a Vietnamese delegate and his Chinese counterpart. The SRV was represented at the talks by Comrade Dinh Nho Liem, first vice foreign minister.

Another favorable occurrence in this new year is the recent visit by the Thai foreign minister, Sitthi Sawetsila, to Vietnam. This is not a normal event because, if we recall, the last visit by a Thai foreign minister to Hanoi

was 13 years ago. The main point of the Thai-Vietnamese talks in Hanoi was that both sides indicated their readiness to provide all necessary assistance for a settlement of the Cambodian problem. They agreed to continue their drive to speed up the settlement.

Moreover, it is worth noting that the Thai and Vietnamese permanent representatives at the UN sent a report on the outcome of the Thai foreign minister's SRV visit as well. In the letter, the necessity for joint efforts to help resolve the Cambodian problem was mentioned. The letter also indicated requirements for a complete withdrawal of foreign troops, a halt to outside interference, and a settlement of Cambodia's internal affairs based on national reconciliation among the Cambodian parties. As a result, this will bring about the establishment of a Cambodia with independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and nonalignment.

According to informed sources, Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan is scheduled to visit Hanoi very soon. Informed circles in Bangkok believe that the time is opportune for a meeting between Chatchai Chunhawan and Comrade Hun Sen, PRK Council of Ministers chairman. The situation is evolving toward the planned meeting.

It was not by chance that Thai newspapers and the ASEAN countries recently expressed hope that the Cambodian problem could be resolved this year. In the viewpoint of those countries' political observers, the prospect of a settlement greatly depends on the outcome of the Vietnamese-Chinese talks.

In sum, we wish to point out that the positive development in the Cambodian situation, which has brought pleasure to all friends of Cambodia, has loomed in line with the promising developments in the world, and has affected people collectively and individually as well. This is one of the trends of the new thinking which, at present, is taking root more and more firmly in the world. The countries in Asia hold the view that one of the factors which has eased the tension around Cambodia has been the fruitful progress of the political dialogue between the USSR and the PRC.

Andrianov Comments on Settling Cambodian Situation
LD2201214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, arrives in Delhi for a visit on 23 January. He gave an interview to the Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD on this occasion. Touching upon the problem of settling the situation around Cambodia, the Vietnamese Communist leader noted that the formation of that country's government is an internal affair of the country's people, whereas the international aspect of the problem should be settled on a regional level. Here is a comment by Boris Andrianov:

[Andrianov] Even those who until recently were skeptical about it have to admit considerable positive changes in the situation around Cambodia, and in Southeast Asia in general. The decade of armed struggle between the parties drawn into the Cambodian conflict has shown that this regional knot cannot be unravelled by military force, and it is fairly obvious now how confrontation is giving way to dialogue. Favorable conditions for it were created by the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, when some 18 months ago it proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation and published a specific program for actions aimed at restoring the country's unity. This political platform corresponded to the Cambodian people's innermost strivings to build a society of equality and justice, to guarantee the country's peaceful future in the interests of social and economic development, and to exclude forever the threatening possibility of a rebirth for the regime of genocide.

The beneficial effect of the policy of national reconciliation is throwing into relief the main goal of this course—to create peaceful conditions for Cambodia's progress. It is precisely this aspiration that provides a real opportunity for all the interested parties to go to the negotiating table. The ability to use compromise in the solution of problems is an important feature of the policy of reconciliation. Naturally, we are talking about sensible compromises, achieved while taking the balance of the sides' interests into account.

In this context it makes sense to look at the roots of the Cambodian problem. Those with a prejudiced view maintain that it owes its existence to the presence of Vietnamese troops. But the stay of that contingent in Cambodia, both before and now, has been caused by the threat that the Pol Pot regime might return to power. Now practically everybody admits that this threat has not vanished. Therefore, the main root of the Cambodian problem consists precisely in the danger that the tyrannical rule of Pol Pot might be restored. Not long ago, however, influential international forces came out in favor of a unilateral withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, while refusing, in fact, to respect the Cambodian people's right to determine their destiny independently, and ignoring their striving to bar the Pol Pot clique's return to power. The impasse in the regional conflict in Southeast Asia arose precisely as a resut of such an approach. Now the situation has been substantially unblocked.

This process was aided even further by a show of goodwill by Hanoi and Pnomh Penh, which announced that if the conflict were settled through political means, then the Vietnamese volunteers would be completely withdrawn from Cambodia no later than this September.

But now the task of making sure that a fratricidal war does not flare up again after the foreign troops have been withdrawn is looming large before all the sides involved in the conflict. Now a real prospect for extinguishing the source of regional tension in Southeast Asia as early as this year has emerged. And this chance should not be missed.

Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Interviewed

PM2001110789 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with SRV Vice Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co, by own correspondent A. Kalashnikov: "An Example for All"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, particularly the sections touching on regional conflicts and international economic cooperation, have generated great interest in Vietnam. This was said to your TRUD correspondent A. Kalashnikov by SRV Vice Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co.

Hanoi—[Tran Quang Co] The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's words are directed to the hearts and minds of everyone, and the ideas put forward by him are in accord with the aspirations of all the peoples of the world. The Soviet leader has convincingly shown that it is possible to solve the most acute problems worrying mankind. We also felt in his speech support for our efforts to strengthen peace and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

It is important that the world heard not only fine, intelligent words, but also learned about the specific actions which the Soviet Union will be taking in the immediate future to advance the inception of a sensible world order. The USSR is setting an example of unity of word and deed, whether it be questions of new international economic relations or the solution of regional conflicts.

[Kalashnikov] Vietnam has also been involved in a protracted, difficult conflict surrounding Cambodia. What are the prospects for its resolution?

[Tran Quang Co] The withdrawal of our troops from the PRK is continuing, and active political dialogue—both among the Khmer sides and among the countries of the region—is under way. The PRK is pursuing a flexible policy of national reconciliation. We are counting on realism and good will on all sides involved in the conflict—a very swift solution of it depends on this.

I would add that tens of thousands of Vietnamese suffered from the incursion into Vietnamese territory of the Pol Pot regime's Armed Forces. We took diplomatic steps and appealed to the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement for help, but to no avail. I was recently asked: Do you not regret putting troops into Cambodia—since this brought new suffering to the Vietnamese people, and complications to the international arena? I answered no, and we do not regret it today, either—we had no choice—we came to the assistance of a fraternal people. Our only fault is that we did not do so earlier.

[Kalashnikov] If you firmly adhere to the principle of completely excluding the use of force in foreign policy, what do you do in the event of the accession to power in a country of an anti-people regime like Pol Pot's?

[Tran Quang Co] The world community should assume the responsibility of preventing such in the future. Take Cambodia as a case in point. A manifestly criminal and bloody regime came to power in a small, remote country. An international convention to prevent the crime of genocide and punish those responsible for it was adopted back in 1948, but of those Western countries party to the convention, which came to the Cambodian people's aid? What price, then, international agreements? This question must be the subject of energetic international discussion.

[Kalashnikov] What efforts is Vietnam making to establish dialogue in Southeast Asia?

[Tran Quang Co] It can be said that we have already achieved good results here. Collective dialogue on the Cambodian problem is, as I have already said, under way. We are also energetically developing bilateral ties in the region. Vietnam has recently conducted high-level talks with Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines—they were held in a frank and constructive spirit. The Thai prime minister will soon be visiting Hanoi. All this helps strengthen peace and stability in the region, and creates an atmosphere of cooperation.

[Kalashnikov] Rapid economic growth has been observable in many Southeast Asian countries, and particularly in ASEAN countries, in recent years. Will Vietnam, situated in such a dynamic region, be able to demonstrate similar development rates?

[Tran Quang Co] We are not, of course, going to blindly copy the path taken by the ASEAN countries or, for that matter, by any other states. Yes, we need foreign experience and ideas, and above all those of socialist countries, whether it be the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, or Romania. We are ready to adopt what is best from the West and the "new industrial countries" of Asia. Mindful that we are an integral part of the world community, we are opening our doors to cooperation, the latest technology and scientific achievements, and advanced management experience.

[Kalashnikov] Are you not afraid that the foreign capital that comes into the country will bring with it those contradictions of industrialization which M.S. Gorbachev spoke about at the United Nations—namely, environmental and social problems?

[Tran Quang Co] A fresh wind will, of course, also bring dust. But, having learned how to counter alien phenomena, we should take the risk. We staunchly defend our chosen socialist path. The fact that serious errors in running the country were committed is another matter, and we are now rectifying them by democratizing political, economic, and cultural life. For millennia the Vietnamese people have fought successfully for their freedom, independence, and identity, and they are not going to forsake them now.

[Kalashnikov] Is the present state of Soviet-Vietnamese economic relations, in your view, a sensible model of the international division of labor?

[Tran Quang Co] I think that our economic relations are far from perfect. The Vietnamese side is to blame here. We have always sought to obtain as much aid as possible from the Soviet Union—this has become an added burden on the Soviet economy, made us complacent, and generated parasitic attitudes. We need a new model of cooperation based on mutual interest. Soviet-Vietnamese ties should not be a burden to the USSR. And sustained work lies ahead if we are to find our own means of solving our own problems. Only on this basis will we be able to grow stronger and play an active role in today's interconnected world.

Vietnamese Ties With PRC Discussed in Beijing

LD2001115189 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Hanoi Janurary 20 TASS—Dinh Nho Liem, first deputy foreign minister of Vietnam, has visited Beijing to exchange views with his counterpart Liu Shuqing. The sides discussed questions linked with the preparation of the forthcoming meeting of foreign ministers of the two countries. This was divulged by a spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry in his answers to a correspondent of the VNA news service.

Discussed also were problems of normalising relations between the two countries, as well as other questions of mutual concern, including the situation around Kampuchea. The guest was received by Qian Qichen, the foreign minister of China. Dinh Nho Liem and members of his party left for home today.

The spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry stressed that the exchange of views was "useful and proceeded in a frank and friendly atmosphere". The sides have reached agreement on several points. The remaining problems will be discussed later. As to the Kampuchean issue, the sides have discussed its international aspects. The domestic aspects of the problem will be decided by the Kampucheans themselves, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Minstry stressed.

Yazov Greets Lao Defense Minister on Anniversary

PM2401092189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov undated greetings message to Lao Defense Minister K. Siphandon on Lao Army anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Khamtai Siphandon, defense minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Personally and on behalf of the Soviet Armed Forces I send you and all Lao servicemen fraternal greetings and most cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the Lao People's Army.

The combat path traveled by the Lao People's Army is inseparably linked with the Lao people's struggle for their freedom and independence and with the defense of their revolutionary gains. In celebrating this portentous anniversary together with Lao People's Army servicemen, Soviet servicemen voice determination to continue strengthening Soviet-Lao friendship in the interests of the common struggle of the socialist countries and all the planet's progressive forces for peace, the removal of the nuclear threat, and the easing of international tension.

I wish you and all Lao servicemen great successes in fulfilling the Fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party Congress decisions on further strengthening their motherland's defense capability and in ensuring the Lao people's peaceful creative labor.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Lukyanov Receives Thai Ambassador's Credentials

PM2001170989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] On 17 January, Manatphat Chuto, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Thailand, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin.

The ambassador expressed satisfaction at the fact that he is beginning his duties in a period of radical renewal of all spheres of life in the Soviet Union, and of fundamental positive changes in the international arena brought about by the increasingly firm consolidation of the principles of the new political thinking in interstate relations. He gave a high assessment of the USSR's activity in activating the processes of disarmament,

reducing international tension, and achieving the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, including those in Southeast Asia. After stressing that favorable conditions have now been created for the successful development of the full range of relations between Thailand and the Soviet Union, the ambassador gave an assurance that he will make every effort to achieve that goal.

In accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov gave the ambassador a detailed report on the present stage of revolutionary transformations in Soviet society's life, emphasizing that their essence consists in the thorough democratization of the political system and the implementation of a radical economic reform aimed at substantially raising the people's living standard. It was noted that the Soviet Union also consistently advocates the restructuring of international relations on the basis of the new political thinking. It seeks the solution of urgent present-day problems in the rejection of the outmoded doctrines of the policy of strength and confrontation, and works on the basis of the priority of general human values. The ambassador's attention was drawn to the recent large-scale Soviet initiatives, including those put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. The Soviet Union, together with other interested countries, is ready to promote the earliest, all-embracing settlement of the conflict in Southeast Asia.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in Soviet-Thai relations and in the further expansion of bilateral cooperation.

After the presentation of credentials there was a friendly conversation between A.I. Lukyanov and M. Chuto, in which T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, took part.

Philippines Peace Activists Protest U.S. Bases

HK2101052789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Participants in an international peace conference held a demonstration in Angeles City, the Philippines, where the U.S. military base, Clark Air Base, is situated. The demonstrators protested the maintenance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines and nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean.

As a procession of some 200 vehicles proceeded toward the American military bases, the number of demonstrators grew to 7,000 people.

Near East & South Asia

Kabul Food Shortages, Flour Distribution Described

PM2301114189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

["Afghan Reportage" by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik and Lieutenant Colonel I. Yesyutin: "Bread for Kabul"]

[Text] Even at the most troubled and grave moments of the war, multicolored kites hovered over Kabul's city districts. Obedient to the noisy crowds of children, the resilient triangular kites would hang in the deep azure sky from early morning until late. But in these January days it is rare for a kite to soar over the city. The severe cold, the snow, and food difficulties have paralyzed the city's life.

The snow which has fallen is complicating not only life in Kabul but also the delivery of freight to the capital. A grave situation has taken shape on Salang pass over which the "road of life," as the Kabul-Hayraton highway is called, passes. The road is closed by avalanches. All this is complicating the advance of convoys with national economic freight, essential foodstuffs, and fuel.

But there is one more reason for the Afghan capital's present difficulties. There is the economic blockade which the implacable opposition is trying to establish. According to competent organs of the Republic of Afghanistan, the rebels have set themselves the task of using every means to disrupt the capital's provision with food and necessities. Right now the frenzied concentration of bandit formations from Pakistan and other provinces of the country is under way around the city. Government convoys along the Kabul-Hayraton and Kabul-Jalalabad roads are being attacked increasingly frequently.

Nor is the "fifth" column in Kabul itself dreaming. Some people, taking no account of prices, are buying rice and flour at the markets; others are stealing food directly from the state stores. For instance, one-third of all the food which had arrived in one Kabul region disappeared recently. In another region goods which had arrived from the International Red Cross were stolen. Because of the threat of physical reprisal, bakers are closing the bakeries where city dwellers used to be able to buy fresh, tasty flat bread....

The shortage of fuel has been added to the food difficulties. However the government tries to control food and fuel prices, they are growing inexorably. Compared with last year the price of flour has risen 150 percent, while the price of rice and vegetable oil has doubled. Prices for kerosene have more than doubled. But the main thing is that kerosene, like bread, arrives only irregularly. For this reason lines, which include children as well as women and old men, form from dawn until dusk next to the bread stores and gas stations (in addition to gas, they trade in solar oil and kerosene here).

"We have always helped the Afghans as we could. Nor have we stood aloof on this occasion," we were told by Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the political section of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. "As soon as the first signs of difficulties in supplying the population with necessities appeared in the city, the command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops offered the Kabul town council aid in the form of flour, rice, and fuel. The distribution of these goods is taking place directly on the streets. It is headed by our political

workers—Lieutenant Colonels V. Zinchenko, A. Shcherbakov, and V. Smetanin and Guards Major V. Ryabinin. For 2 weeks now, our soldiers have been distributing bread and fuel free of charge in almost all regions of the capital. As of now, we have already issued over 100 tonnes of flour and hundreds of liters of solar oil and kerosene. Assistance is given primarily to invalids, women, and children."

On 18 January we spent almost the whole day at the points where the airborne troops were issuing flour to the Afghans directly from the Soviet army trucks. We witnessed the unfeigned gratitude which illumined the eyes of the Afghans when the soldiers poured flour from the sacks into their buckets and coppers and other utensils. Children literally besieged the trucks. The smallest were put on the drivers' knees and given biscuits with condensed milk from the soldiers' rations.

...We drove up to the female lyceum of Bibi-makhru [name as transliterated] near Kabul airport. Even from a distance, we noticed the covered trucks next to which there were long lines. The senior officer here is Guards Major B. Ryabinin, a political worker. Soldiers headed by Guards Private I. Golovkov were pouring out a portion of flour for each person. A bucket per person. From all sides the words "Tashakor!" and "Thank you!" could be heard in Dari and Russian.

"Not everyone is able to restrain himself from giving emotional eastern-style thanks to your soldiers, and the people standing in line hurry him along," says Lieutenant Nur Asef [name as transliterated], senior officer of a people's militia detail. "Today there is still relative order. But you should have seen what happened around the Soviet trucks carrying bread in the first days. Hundreds of people literally attacked the trucks. We had to make them observe order and wait their turn. Women and children are now in one line and men in another. We distributed 10 tonnes of flour in just a few hours."

Learning that we were journalists, an old Hazara man approached us.

"We poor people have always assessed highly the aid from Soviet people," Mirza Mokhammad [name as transliterated] said, choosing the Russian words with difficulty. "I know that the Kabul bread combine, where I once worked, was constructed by Soviet specialists and the oven where the bread is baked are also Soviet. In years gone by this bread combine provided bread for the whole city. And now that we are having difficulties with bread, your soldiers are giving us flour and in fact sharing their bread with us. The people value this and say: 'Namakkhor.'"

...Bread is sacred to every Afghan. To swear by bread is no less significant than to swear by the Koran. And the word "namakkhor," which is difficult to translate into Russian, means a person who has shared his bread and salt with another.

Opposition Blocks Supplies to Kabul

LD2401073589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Soviet military transport aircraft are continuing to move food into the Afghan capital. Flour and kerosene are being handed out free to the population. Because of fierce fighting with the extremists in the Salang pass area, the country's main highway linking Kabul with Khayraton, which is on the border with the USSR, is once again paralyzed. The armed opposition is preventing the normal supply of foodstuffs to the city.

Initial Airlift Completed

LD2401110389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul, 24 Jan—TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports—Heavy cargo Il-76 transport planes can be seen every day in the skies above Kabul International Airport, as they prepare to land. The air giant carries 25 tonnes of high quality flour destined for the residents of the Afghan capital, which the extremists, members of the die-hard opposition, are trying to choke with the noose of hunger. The USSR-Kabul air bridge was organized 5 days ago precisely to frustrate these inhuman plans.

Today there is cause for celebration for those carrying out this difficult and large-scale operation—the delivery of the first thousand tonnes of flour to the town has been completed. In all, 3,500 tonnes will be delivered. The frequency of flights is increasing, too: while three planes arrived on the first day, there were 15 of them on Monday.

Several factors have contributed to the creation of a flour crisis in the capital. One of them has already been mentioned. Unfavorable weather conditions have also played their part—snowfalls and frosts, avalanches temporarily closing the Salang pass, severing the "road of life" that connects Kabul with the Soviet border. Nor have we been without the criminal neglect—perhaps with malicious intent—of a number of senior bureaucrats. The whims of the Salang pass have long been known, and the delivery of produce to Kabul should have been thought about in advance.

We are grateful to our Soviet friends who have once again come to our aid in good time, said Colonel Shavali, from the Material and Technical Supply Directorate of the Afghan Army, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. Thanks to these deliveries, Kabul will not remain hungry now; every woman and child will receive their flat bread loaf. As someone responsible for the unloading, I would like to note the precision and coordination of all links in the operation being carried out.

The air bridge has made it possible, in a short space of time, to eliminate the crisis situation in the town regarding foodstuffs. The flour that has been brought in is

currently being kept in state storehouses and will constitute a kind of buffer intended to smooth over any crisis that may arise before spring comes.

Meanwhile, the Salang is gradually "returning to normal." The temperature has fallen and the avalanches are gradually ceasing. The clearing of snow drifts is in full swing. There is hope that the "road of life" will be in operation again soon.

USSR Troops Halt Rebel Attack on Kabul Post

PM2401101589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[Guards Senior Lieutenant V. Sokirko dispatch: "According to Radio Monitoring Data"]

[Text] Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan—Airborne troops under the command of Guards Captain V. Kuznetsov, Order of the Red Star, are serving at a Kabul guard post.

All around there are mountains and more mountains.... Snow-covered peaks, piles of brown rocks. It is 2,800 meters above sea level. The airborne troops' chief task is to prevent rebels from firing rockets at the city and to keep rebel detachments away from peaceful city districts, important government installations, and Soviet unit dispositions.

Radio monitoring data received the day before were disconcerting. A 140-man rebel detachment had appeared in the post's zone of responsibility. Making their way through lonely ravines at night, the rebels had arrived at the deserted village of Baghay, 3 km from our post. So Guards Capt V. Kuznetsov had every reason to be concerned. The post in his charge was facing quite an impressive force armed not only with small arms but also with rocket launchers and mortars. Peering through binoculars at the nearby mountains from the command post, Kuznetsov tried to discern the rebels' intentions and planned countermeasures. The enemy would most likely endeavor to blockade the post with small arms and mortar fire and start launching rockets. The small subunit of airborne troops has long been a thorn in the enemy's side. From their commanding height the airborne troops control the entire region, which has many convenient sites for launching rockets. They have repeatedly thwarted attempts to shell Kabul, inflicting palpable losses on the rebels. And now a gang had once again made an approach. Sentries reported in the morning that they had heard the whistle of bullets—probably a sniper was operating.

"Valentin Leonidovich, there is new information," Senior Lieutenant A. Gribnik sat down next to Kuznetsov. "They have been transmitting again. 'Kerim' asked 'Unknown' for cartridges for the sniper and for warm clothing and rockets. Shells are code-named 'cucumbers.' 'Unknown,' who by all accounts is the chief man, promised to help his 'esteemed brothers,' including sending them six 'cucumbers.' The convoy will move tonight."

So: A sniper, a gang of almost 150 men, six rockets, mortars... However, the rebels had little ammunition. That was a plus. There was time to make decisions before nightfall. The chief thing was to prevent the weapons convoy from reaching Baghay village and to deprive the enemy of the initiative. Guards Capt V. Kuznetsov realized how important it was to stun the enemy with a surprise strike. There had recently been such an instance. Rebels had attempted to approach the post from the west, from the direction of Kabul, from where they were least expected. The moonless night and the howling wind provided ideal conditions for an attack. After a day's rest in a destroyed mosque the extremists, confident of their safety, moved through a narrow gorge toward the post. They were detected, however, by Guards Private A. Rodin. Characteristic blips appeared on the radar screen which the member of the airborne force was using to "comb" the mountain slopes. The post was roused by an alarm signal, and that sally cost the extremists dearly.

Poring over a chart, Kuznetsov pondered his actions. The coordinates of "Unknown" had been ascertained accurately. The convoy would pass right under the post, because it was quite a long way around the mountain ridge, and there are many Afghan Army posts there. They must not miss the moment when the rebels would be in the open section of the ravine.

The airborne troops prepared for combat in a businesslike manner, without unnecessary fuss. Guards Junior Sergeant Yu. Gayvoronskiy, instructor on medical matters and sanitation, once again checked his bag of medical supplies. He had already had to give aid to an injured comrade—Guards Private S. Shelestov—fortunately, the only casualty at the post in the entire time. Guards Private V. Karatavenko slipped the cover over a carefully cleaned heavy machinegun. The cartridge belt, gleaming with an oily sheen, was at hand. The mortar crew commanded by Guards Junior Sergeant O. Malets, recently awarded the medal "For Combat Services," was also in full readiness. Guards Capt Kuznetsov was pleased with his subordinates—they were acting harmoniously and in concord.

The post chief's supposition proved correct. At 0300 hours Guards Private D. Kurochkin, Order of the Red Star, the ground reconnaissance radar operator, reported the convoy's movement to Kuznetsov. Then a flare soared into the sky with a howl, shedding light onto scurrying figures. The heavy machinegun and an automatic grenade launcher at once started up, kicking up bright fireworks from the rocks. Close-pattern mortar shelling hit the ravine. The battle was swift and ended in victory for the post servicemen.

In the morning a smiling Sr Lt Gribnik once again opened his report book in front of the post chief:

"The convoy was destroyed," he reported, "and the remaining bandits fled. 'Unknown' is roundly cursing his 'esteemed brothers.'"

Opposition Shelling, Civilian Casualties Reported

LD2301122689 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 23 TASS—Sixty two rebels were killed and a large arms cache seized in the Afghan Province of Konduz on Sunday [22 January], according to BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY. In a number of districts of Nangarhar Province soldiers of the Afghan Army destroyed depots with missiles intended for the shelling of populated settlements. The enemy sustained heavy losses in Herat, Paktia, Faryab and Qandahar Provinces.

Trying to sow panic among the civilian population, the extremists continue to shell cities. On Sunday more than 120 missiles fell on the densely-populated districts of Khost. As a result of this barbarous action there have been casualties.

Two children and one serviceman of the Afghan Army died in Qandahar as a result of shelling. The town of Maymana was subjected to massive bombardment, which left five people seriously wounded.

Despite the escalation of the armed confrontation, some moderate groups of the oppositive have ceased combat operations and have embarked on the road of national reconciliation. Last Saturday a 30 strong rebel group laid down their arms in the District Aghcha, Jowzjan Province. A 9 strong opposition group declared a ceasefire in Faryab Province.

Armed clashes between opposition groups of different political orientations continue in Karabag, Said Karam and Zurmat Districts of Paktia Province, as well as in Koshk District of Herat Province. These clashes left 18 people killed and more than 14 wounded during Sunday.

Ringleaders of the extremist groups which entrenched themselves on Pakistani territory announced a massive call-up among youth from Afghan refugee families who could not return home because of hostilities near their permanent residences. According to BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY, protest demonstrations against the arbitrary rule of the extremists took place in many refugee camps. At the Torkham Afghan border point, held by rebels, refugees staged a protest demanding a return home.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 192nd note of protest to the U.N. observer mission in Kabul citing irrefutable evidence of Pakistan's violation of the Geneva Accords.

The Coordination Council of the Union of Left-Wing Democratic Parties held its regular meeting in Kabul. It discussed and endorsed the results of the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Afghan leader Najibullah.

Afghan Rebels Retreat, Sustain 'Heavy Losses'

LD2401131189 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 24 TASS—The Afghan Army carried out operations against the opposition in Qandahar, Nangarhar and Parwan provinces throughout Monday. Fifteen extremist were killed in Qandahar, according to the Afghan military command. Opposition troops were forced to abandon more than 20 reinforced positions. The same day the insurgents shelled security checkpoints in Qandahar, and populated localities in Helmand Province and Khost district.

The opposition has sustained heavy losses in internecine clashes. About 100 rebels were killed on January 23 in clashes between Said Jagran detachments and Shi'ite groups in Ghazni Province, and between formations of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA) and "the Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) in Herat, where over 250 IPA soldiers were taken prisoner by ISA.

A meeting of local residents was held in Qandahar. It was attended by clergymen from the provincial centre and several Afghan districts. The clergymen said they deemed it their duty to support the national reconciliation programme which accords with Islamic principles.

A jirgah of several Pashtoon tribes was held in Mehterlam, Laghman province. The tribal leaders and elders approved the Afghan government's course towards a broad coalition government, emphasizing that this is the only way to end the fratricidal war.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports that the Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent the 193rd note to the U.N. mission in Afghanistan, citing Pakistan's new violations of the Geneva accords.

Television Interviews Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto

LD2201214789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1458 GMT 22 Jan 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Excerpts] [Gerasimov] A drama has been played out in Pakistan, where a military dictatorship has given way to a civilian administration. We are not indifferent to what happens in Pakistan, for Pakistan is right alongside us, and right alongside Afghanistan. Mikhail Leshchinskiy

had a meeting with Benazir Bhutto, the new prime minister o. Pakistan. The "Vremya" program showed an extract from this conversation the other day, and now we will see it in full.

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] Madam Prime Minister, this is your first interview for Soviet television, so allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election to that lofty post, and to ask you to describe for our television viewers your cabinet's program, in general terms, of course.

[Bhutto in English with superimposed Russian translation] I should like to thank you for this opportunity in granting me an interview on Soviet television.

The Government of Pakistan would like the peoples of Pakistan and the USSR to get to know one another better. Pakistan has a democratic government today, following a lengthy struggle against dictatorship and repression. During those years some were put to death, and others were sent to prison or forced into exile. But we believed in our cause, and were full of determination to attain freedom, justice, and legality. We achieved success after a prolonged struggle, and have now obtained the opportunity to develop our country on a modern basis. It is now the era of computers and modern technology, and we want Pakistan to take part in the process of scientific development, too. We are pleased that the Soviet Union wants to help us in this. We want to raise the people's living standard and to remove poverty. With this aim we are trying in every way possible to attract foreign capital investment to Pakistan. We are also expanding the private sector and granting it business opportunities. We have also proposed the idea of enabling private individuals to participate on a cooperative basis in capital investment in the country's economy.

We must move from one frontier to the next, from horizon to horizon, in the fight against hunger, illiteracy, slavery, or indifference. We have a great deal to do, and we must pursue our priorities while also being very careful, because we achieved success in a prolonged struggle. Our task now is to consolidate the national forces. We must gradually move forward without haste.

In your country, too, I know, you are experimenting with democratization. This is no easy time, but it is an exciting one. The greater the tasks, the greater should be the people's share in resolving them. We are thus united by something greater than geography.

[Leshchinskiy] You have already started to talk about common features in the modern life of our countries. In the light of this, I should like to know how you regard relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan.

[Bhutto] Our relations were complicated, I believe, by the Afghan problem. The new government, nowever, considers that the completion of the Soviet troops' withdrawal will blaze the way toward better understanding beween our countries, which is essential. In my father's time, when he was foreign minister and then prime minister, such relations developed. Everything possible must be done to ensure that these traditions continue. Our generation, too, can and must promote the improvement of understanding between the peoples of the USSR and Pakistan.

[Leshchinskiy] One last question—I know you are busy at present. You have already spoken about the great tasks facing your cabinet in the future, of course. Your role as the first woman prime minister in the Islamic world is not easy. In a word, many difficult things are ahead, I believe. Please excuse me at once for this question, but I will venture to ask it, nevertheless. On top of everything else, you have a family, and quite recently became a mother. Are you sure of your own strength? Where do you derive your strength for this difficult work?

[Bhutto] Great tasks are facing us now. The past years were doomed by the dramatic killing of my father, by years of exile. We were hunted and convicted. When I was arrested in my own home, I had no hope of ever seeing it again and did not believe anyone would even take the trouble to bury my body. If one has found oneself in a situation like that and still survived, one has more reason for believing that one can fulfill one's duty. Today, the people of Pakistan are resolving their tasks in a situation of greater certainty and greater security, even though in the past the entire state machine was directed against the people. But God gave us strength. I believe what every person needs is first a belief in what one is doing and, second, determination in one's struggle. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Gerasimov] As prime minister, however, Benazir Bhutto has been left a difficult legacy. As she herself announced in December, the country's economy is on the edge of bankruptcy. The military have returned to their barracks, as the saying goes, but they of course still retain their political weight. Organized crime is strong in the country; gangs run things there. The Afghan armed opposition is also active there. Afghan refugees are a burden on the country. This alone is reason for Pakistan's interest in peace coming about in Afghanistan, for then the refugees would go away. But if the civil war continues there in Afghanistan, the number of refugees could even increase.

As regards Afghanistan, the armed opposition there is trying to cut Kabul off with a blocade. This is, of course, a war against their own people, for the civilian population is going hungry, too. I cite the testimony of a correspondent of the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency, who draws the following picture: a woman with her face covered according to the Muslim custom stretched her hand out to a Western journalist and said: My children are dying of hunger, I am dying of hunger, and it is because the rebels are not allowing food to be brought into the city.

Weekly Profiles Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi

PM2001090589 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 14

[Article by political observer Igor Belyayev: "Son of the Desert"; first three paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] The "case against Libya" has been revived in Washington. Options for bombing that Arab country have long been under discussion in the press. Unlike the 1986 scenario, which ended in a strike against Tripoli, when it was alleged that "terrorist bases" were operating on Libyan territory, this time the target of a possible U.S. Air Force bombing raid will be an enterprise producing... chemical weapons supposedly earmarked for terrorists. However, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has declared that it will produce ordinary medicines....

What has the Libyan leader done wrong? It is, of course, not a question of the absurd claim made in Washington but of the policy Libya pursues.

It seems to us that the features of the political portrait of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi which we offer to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's readers today will help to answer the question we have raised.

The Libyan leader's first name is Mu'ammar. Translated from Arabic, his name is symbolic—"long-lived." He was born in the spring of 1942 in a bedouin tent near Surt, on the Mediterranean coast. At the time of his birth there were already three daughters in the Al-Qadhdhafi family (this was the name of the "qabilah"—Arabic for tribe—to which it belonged). Imagine his father's joy when Mu'ammar came into the world. The poverty all around was so glaring that the head of the family now pinned all his high hopes on his only son. If Allah were willing, of course! Not a single minute would pass in Mu'ammar's family without a mention of the Most High. For it was inconceivable to put their trust and hope in anyone else...

In April-May 1988 the Italian weekly EPOCA conducted a rather unusual poll on the popularity of the world's politicians. The questions asked included this one: "Which of today's great politicians is most dangerous?"

A majority of those polled—26.3 percent—replied: Al-Qadhdhafi!

Ayatollah Khomeyni, who polled just 19.3 percent, took second place....

"Incredible!" you will remark. That is just what I thought too. So I decided to conduct my own poll, without a preliminary announcement, of course. There was no sensation-seeking in my intentions. I simply wanted to learn what my compatriots thought of the Libyan leader. Consulting the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary in advance, I read:

"Al-Qadhdhafi, Mu'ammar (born 1942), head of the 'revolutionary leadership' of Libya, general secretary of the Libyan General People's Congress 1977-1979; supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces since 1970. Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council from 1 September 1969 through March 1977. Prime minister from January 1970 through July 1972."

All very factual, as you see. It is simply impossible to understand from the text who the leader of the Libyan revolution is....

In my conversations with political scientist colleagues and with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers, I inquired what my interlocutors knew about Al-Qadhdhafi. The replies were striking too.

"Al-Qadhdhafi is a revolutionary, a politician, and an orator who easily gets carried away," a journalist with an interest in what is happening in the Near East remarked. "And... a dictator who frequently takes liberties with regard to the rest of the world and Communists above all...."

"Al-Qadhdhafi is—in his own way, of course—an exceptional character and a center of inexplicable oddities, which is inadvisable for a politician. He is an extreme (Arab) nationalist...."

This was the verdict of a political scientist tackling problems of the "Third World."

"What do you know about Al-Qadhdhafi?" I asked a graduate of a Moscow institute who is no stranger to international problems.

"Not much, I admit," she replied frankly, to her credit. "One thing, for sure—Mr al-Qadhdhafi is an unexpected politician and an Islamic fanatic...."

A statement by one of my interlocutors was quite unexpected too:

"Al-Qadhdhafi is a terrorist!"

In short, during my impromptu poll I heard all too many paradoxical judgments of the Libyan leader. It was disconcerting that there were many obvious coincidences in them. Yes, coincidences with the assessments of Al-Qadhdhafi made on "the other side."

It is firmly established as one of the most categorical charges against Al-Qadhdhafi, which have been made and repeated in Washington by representatives of at least four administrations (the Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations), that he is "the leader of international terrorism"! Not to mention charges such as "the source of all dangers" and "a head of state with whom it is impossible to have dealings" and the charges of "pro-Sovietism," which have been growing since 1974.

Of course, he is "not Moscow's puppet," U.S. politicians, diplomats, journalists, political scientists, and observers of what is taking place in the Near East claim, but Libya does extend undesirable "privileges" to the Soviet squadron in the Mediterranean....

It suddenly seemed to me that the glaring coincidence of statements of Al-Qadhdhafi's "sins" as politician and statesman was very much to someone's liking. Yes, in Washington and Moscow. "For them" because Al-Qadhdhafi had supposedly "betrayed their hopes." "For us" because the leader of the Libyan revolution is all but a "vehement anticommunist." What is this—a ruthless statement of reality, or do we simply know little about Al-Qadhdhafi? This is, in fact, why I decided to fill in the "gap" in our ideas about the leader of the Libyan revolution.

Roots

Pitiful poverty surrounded Mu'ammar in his childhood. From his early years an unshakable idea of poverty as an eternal inevitability took shape in the consciousness of the boy, a "son of the desert." A difficult question matured in his brain: How long? Indeed, when would the new times come and his father, mother, sisters, and he himself gain access to what was rushing past them....

When Mu'ammar was 9 or perhaps 10 years old—not even his parents remember exactly—he was sent away to school in Surt. Where did he live there? There was nowhere to sleep. His relatives were far away. So Mu'ammar settled down for the night in the mosque with other homeless believers. Always to the accompaniment of discourses on the mercy of Allah, the great and omnipotent!

In school, too, everything began with Allah, with obeisance to the only, unique one, with endless gratitude for the incomparable blessing which education is for a young Muslim. And the boy studied and learned the Koran by heart. On Thursdays or, in extreme circumstances, on Friday morning he would set off for home, for his father in the desert. On a vehicle going his way? No, on foot!

Time passed slowly, and years passed quickly. Mu'ammar became determined to learn and became reserved. To get him talking, an interlocutor would have to ask him overt questions. He would respond to them by speaking "plain home truths," as it were. Straightforwardness and the belief that truth would overcome evil marked the adolescent—with the result that he attracted and antagonized people at the same time.

Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was a secondary school pupil in Sabha. There, too, he absorbed more than he spoke out loud. Only sometimes, when the situation in Libya summoned people into the streets, would he go off to demonstrations with his classmates. Sometimes he ended up at the police station. There, in a cell for "politicals," he reached the conclusion that only force could secure the motherland's desired freedom and destroy the monarchy, which was dooming it to eternal dependence on Britain and America. But force was then concentrated in the royal army. Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, together with his officers, however, had been able to overthrow King Faruq. The Egyptian revolutionary leader became a living god to the young Al-Qadhdhafi!

Al-Qadhdhafi's political activity almost cost him his future. Mu'ammar was expelled from the school in Sabha, and he continued his education in Misratah. There he and several school friends, including 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, who had repeatedly been detained with him by the police for participating in demonstrations, decided to become officers—professional soldiers—in order to acquire force capable of sweeping aside King Idris and his entourage.... They decided this and, for the time being, pretended to have no more interest in politics. This withdrawal into themselves helped them, upon graduating from school in 1963, to enter the military academy in Banghazi, Libya's second city after Tripoli. Within its walls Al-Qadhdhafi was not ashamed to express his views. Among the cadets there was endless discussion of the future of Libya and of all Arabs. Mu'ammar became their recognized leader. Simultaneously attending university in Banghazi, the future officer took a history course there—which not only increased his knowledge but also strengthened his sense of patriotism.

After completing a brief course of studies in Britain Al-Qadhdhafi did not linger there a day. After spending just 2 days in Rome, he returned home, where his friends were waiting impatiently for him—graduates of the academy and members of the secret organization which he had created. Al-Qadhdhafi called it "Free Unionist Officers." He very much wanted to follow Egyptian President Al-Nasir's example and promote the Arabs' unification.

Beginning

What could Libya do at that time? Absolutely nothing. Everything then happening in the Arab world was predetermined in Cairo, above all. Who there paid attention to Libya, which, though covering a large territory, was too small in terms of population, although it occupied an important strategic position in the southern Mediterranean....

Al-Qadhdhafi felt this intensely, and he pinned all his hopes on Al-Nasir, although he was not even acquainted with him. His position as a liaison officer was a great help to Al-Qadhdhafi. He moved about the country quite easily, establishing necessary contacts with commanding officers of companies and battalions who might help in the coming coup. Yes, in the military coup originally scheduled for the spring of 1969. After several changes of date, everything was ready.

At 0620 hours on 1 September 1969 Radio Banghazi informed the country and the Arab world in the voice of Senior Lieutenant Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi that King Idris had been overthrown. Henceforth Libya would be a republic....

The report of events in Banghazi plunged political Cairo into shock. Not only had it not been expecting a coup, but Cairo did not even suspect the existence or the actions of certain officers who sided with Al-Nasir. Muhammad H. Haykal, chief editor of the newspaper AL-AHRAM and friend and proxy of the Egyptian president, at once flew to Banghazi on board a military aircraft. There, in the building of the Egyptian Consulate, one of the members of the future Revolutionary Command Council—Mustafa al-Kharrubi—who together with Al-Qadhdhafi had taken Banghazi during the night of 31 August-1 September, blurted out to Haykal:

"We are all followers of Al-Nasir!"

"Who is your leader?" Haykal impatiently asked.

"You will see him tonight..."

"What rank does he hold?"

"Like myself, he was a captain, but he was demoted to senior lieutenant for his political convictions...."

Al-Qadhdhafi arrived at the consulate building at 0200 hours. Haykal was struck by his youth—just 27 years old!

Answering all the Egyptian's questions, Al-Qadhdhafi said:

"Return to Cairo and tell President al-Nasir that we do not want to rule Libya. All that we have done is our duty as Arab nationalists. It is now up to President al-Nasir. Let him extricate Libya from the reactionary camp and bring it into the progressive camp of the Arab world...."

Haykal returned to Cairo and asked Al-Nasir to receive him immediately. The president began his interrogation by studying a photograph of Al-Qadhdhafi. The Libyan leader's very young face was disconcerting.

"Al-Qadhdhafi and his friends are a veritable disaster!" Haykal began. "They are so naive! Ascetics, full of determination to act...."

That was how it all began.

After creating the Revolutionary Command Council Al-Qadhdhafi, who became the country's supreme ruler as its chairman, took emergency measures to achieve the Arabs' full unity. The Tripoli Charter proclaiming the union of Egypt, Libya, and Syria appeared on 27 December 1969. The new unified state was to be called the "Federation of Arab Republics." They got no further than talking about it.

Libya's full union with Egypt was proclaimed 2 August 1972. An agreement was even signed. But union was never achieved.

Djerba, 11 January 1974. Libya's union with Tunisia. Being in Tripoli at the time, I observed skepticism there too. That union did not take place either.

New versions of Libya's union with other Arab states emerged repeatedly in subsequent years. However, this too remained just talk...

Search for His Own Path

After failing to unite the Arabs, Al-Qadhdhafi concentrated his efforts on reforms inside the country. What path to take, how to develop further? Ordinary questions, but very difficult problems. An undeveloped economy (oil extraction alone was progressing indomitably and bringing in considerable revenue), a backward social structure, a reluctance to accept the revolution by the so-called "middle classes."

On 15 April 1973 Al-Qadhdhafi proclaimed the "people's cultural revolution." In order to crush the bureaucracy's resistance and overcome the apathy of the masses he urged the people to take power into their own hands. He abolished all the laws in effect in the country. Only punishments for crimes remained in force. The shari'a—Islamic law—became the country's fundamental law. All who supported the former, overthrown regime were outlawed. Communists, members of the "Muslim Brotherhood" secret organization, and the so-called "regionalists" who campaigned for the country's partition had to leave Libya. A struggle began "against demagoguery" in universities and organizations which were "purveyors of Western influence." The measures proclaimed by Al-Qadhdhafi were to be an organic part of his "third path" or "third international theory" to counter both "capitalist materialism" and "communist atheism." It was formulated in Al-Qadhdhafi's "Green Book" published in parts in 1975, 1978, and 1979. They created 2,209 people's committees in the country—in universities, cities, enterprises, administrative establishments, and villages.

On 6 April 1974 Al-Qadhdhafi renounced all administrative and political powers in order to devote his whole being exclusively to "organization of the masses" and "ideological actions." At the Arab Socialist Union Congress on 5 October of the same year the colonel announced that this organization was to be restructured. Everything was to begin all over again. These were the results of the first 5 years of the Libyan revolution.

Where Were the Origins of Failures?

At that time Al-Qadhdhafi quite frequently asked himself this question. He asked himself, not confiding even in 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, who was particularly close to him. However tempting the idea of uniting the Arabs

seemed, it had disconcerted even Al-Nasir. The experience of the union of Egypt and Syria (1958-1963) was too bitter in the Egyptian president's lifetime. But it seemed to Al-Qadhdhafi that any union—even with H. Bourguiba, the Tunisian leader—would produce huge benefits. No one wanted to agree with Al-Qadhdhafi. The mention of the Libyan leader's failures would cause serious politicians in the Arab world to smile with reserve: Too hotheaded, in too much of a hurry...

Al-Qadhdhafi wanted not just union with one country or another. The colonel aspired to a key post when proclaiming a union with any country. He did not trust Al-Sadat. And everyone on whom union really depended feared his future actions.

Al-Sadat verbally obliged Al-Qadhdhafi in his passion of uniting with Egypt, while not letting the Libyan leader in on his policies. Thus he did not say a word to Al-Qadhdhafi about the war being prepared against Israel, scheduled for October 1973. Al-Qadhdhafi learned about it from radio reports. And... he called it a "musical comedy."

After that the paths of Libya and Egypt diverged decisively. Realizing that Al-Sadat was giving Egypt to the Americans, Al-Qadhdhafi decided on a rapprochement with the Soviet Union....

Do not think that the Libyan leader made the "turn toward Moscow" lightly. With foresight Al-Qadhdhafi reckoned that his policy of improving Libyan-Soviet relations would bring him obvious benefits. Yes, political ones above all. Big politics always involves arithmetic. The disappearance of a large prop in politics cannot last long.

On 6 December 1976 Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was in Moscow. The Libyan leader not only overcame his prejudices but also managed to look Soviet people in the eye in an unbiased manner. As a result, new horizons of cooperation opened up before him.

Al-Qadhdhafi did not become "pro-Soviet." But he did become an even firmer Arab politician. He irritated many people with his persistence, even here, in the Soviet Union. His speeches seemed divorced from the realities of the Near East, but it did not seem so to him. Perhaps Al-Qadhdhafi was ahead of his time?

When the Iranian revolution erupted in 1979, the Libyan leader supported it from "A" to "Z." Even when Khomeyni insisted on continuing the war against Iraq, Al-Qadhdhafi sided with Iran along with President al-Asad of Syria. In the last year of the war the Libyan leader opposed it. And Iran. Everything, as we see, is in flux....

Changes, Bombs, Changes....

Al-Qadhdhafi has been in power for almost 20 years. The past 11 years have been an unending experiment for him. In 1977 the colonel proclaimed "jamahiriyah"—absolute people's power in Libya. After that all executive power was concentrated in the hands of "people's revolutionary committees." Ministries and other state establishments ceased to exist. Instead of parliament, the General People's Congress became the legislative organ. What has not been destroyed in Libya over the past years—private trade and private ownership of land and the means of production. Absolutely everything was handed over to the people. It was then that the country got to know ever-increasing difficulties and even unhappiness resulting from just one thing—unpreparedness for radical reforms outstripping development. State and cooperative stores and enterprises were at a standstill. The people were grumbling. It was becoming increasingly clear to those following the unexpected reforms of the economic and political system in Libya that the haste in implementing them was a sign of future complications. Opposition elements were not afraid to undertake an attack on Al-Qadhdhafi's residence in the Bab al-'Aziziyah military camp near Tripoli. The colonel realized that the people's patience was not unlimited. Last fall Al-Qadhdhafi backed down. He has returned private traders to their stores and is trying to set the economy to rights, but once again he surprises the Libyans and the whole world. The colonel has suddenly disbanded the "people's revolutionary committees," the army, and the police, and has liquidated state enterprises. Who will defend the country now, and which institutions will regulate the economy? Replying to this question, Al-Qadhdhafi emphasized that the Armed Forces' place will be taken by the armed people. Risky? Of course. But it seems to Al-Qadhdhafi that all his present actions are a continuing revolutionary quest!

Libya is now called the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. In translation this means not only people's power but also socialism as the revolution's goal in the country. Once again the question arises: Is the colonel not in too much of a hurry?

In Libya over the past 11 years the "Islamic factor" has once intensified, then weakened, although Al-Qadhdhafi has never been a Muslim fanatic. On the contrary, he firmly and consistently restrains the Muslim wave in the country....

In 1986 the Libyan leader was subjected to the Reagan administration's calculated vengeance. A specially assigned subunit of bombers (15 F-111's based in the British isles!) bombed his residence. The purpose of the top-secret operation was to kill Al-Qadhdhafi. Reagan did not mention this when he delivered a report on the raid on Libya on U.S. television. Why had the Libyan leader fallen into disfavor with the Americans? He was accused of supporting "international terrorism." And, at the same time, of subversive "pro-Sovietism." This was

probably the decisive argument when the decision to bomb Libya was made, although the right of every political leader of one country or another to choose his own partners or fellow travelers is unshakable. Al-Qadhdhafi has repeatedly been to Moscow and met with understanding here. Over the past decade Libya has been the Soviet Union's profitable trading partner. However, it is utter nonsense to accuse the Libyan leader of "pro-Sovietism...."

Accusations of a quarrelsome disposition and even of cantankerousness have recently rained down on Al-Qadhdhafi's head all too frequently—as though from a horn of plenty. He has parried them not unsuccessfully with recent political decisions. The confrontation in Chad is over—which attests to the Libyan leader's sensible approach to resolving the regional conflict. Al-Qadhdhafi has returned to the difficult path of meeting with Arab leaders. His appearance in Algiers in 1988 contributed to the success of the last pan-Arab summit meeting. Political isolation does not impress Al-Qadhdhafi, and this viewpoint could play a positive role in Libya's approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict too....

Who, then, is Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi? My thoughts return to the poll which I conducted. Is the leader of the Libyan revolution a nationalist? An Islamic fanatic? The facts attest precisely that Al-Qadhdhafi has recently shown enviable restraint in everything connected with achieving Arab unity, while at the same time not giving Muslim extremists their head. An anticommunist? There has been and is no communist party in Libya....

Then the most unpleasant question: Is Al-Qadhdhafi a terrorist? In 1986 neither the CIA nor the State Department could prove their charges of terrorism against the Libyan leader. In December 1988 the United States accused Libya of possibly producing chemical weapons. Al-Qadhdhafi supposedly might use them for purposes of... that same terrorism. In response to the charges the Libyan leader offered the outgoing U.S. President a dialogue. Yes, concerning disputed problems. Washington did not accept his offer but downed two unarmed Libyan aircraft on a patrol flight. The UN Security Council, which was convened urgently at Libya's request and sat for several days, was unable to adopt a resolution condemning U.S. terrorist actions. It was blocked with a triple veto by the Americans, the British, and the French. The cost of the British and French support was the Pentagon's revision of the plans for military maneuvers by the U.S. Navy close to Libya's coasts. F. Carlucci, Reagan's defense secretary, declared:

"The case (against Libya—I.B.) is closed!"

Of course, the pan-Arab warning to Washington had worked. As well as the resolute condemnation of U.S. state terrorism by the international community.

In the end, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi won the two skirmishes imposed on him by R. Reagan!

It is possible, as people too frequently prove, to curse and not understand Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, but it is impossible to ignore the Libyan leader, who has concentrated within himself all the qualities and features of his people.

East Europe

Slyunkov Begins Working Visit to GDR

Departs 24 January

LD2401101589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, left on a working visit to Berlin on Tuesday at the invitation of the SED Central Committee.

He was seen off at the airport by Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Rybakov, deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Comittee. Among those at the airport were Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

Met by Mittag in Berlin

LD2401093989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0923 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin, 24 January (TASS)—Nikolay Slyunkov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, arrived in Berlin today on a working visit at the invitation of the SED Central Committee.

He was met at the airport by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, and other officials. The welcoming party included Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

Pavlov Heads CPSU Law Delegation on GDR Visit

PM2301163089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-SED interparty ties, a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State Law Department, was in the GDR 16-20 January to study the experience of SED party organizations in the leadership of activity of law enforcement organs.

The delegation was received by E. Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Further Reportage . Conclusion of PZPR Plenum

Leadership Gets Vote of Confidence

PM1901150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jan—The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was devoted to discussing the theses of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo "Party Reform—the Condition for the Success of the Strategy of Renewal and Reforms," and the question of radical transformations in political, social, and economic life, has completed its work here. The first part of the plenum took place 20-21 December 1988 and, taking into account the importance of the questions on the agenda, adopted the decision to continue the discussion in the middle of January this year after additional discussion in party organizations. As noted, a total of about half a million party members and more than 50,000 nonparty people, who put forward a number of proposals and remarks, took part in the discussion of the problems being addressed by the plenum.

The PZPR's invariable objective is to radically and irreversibly restructure social life by implementing the model of socialism within whose framework all citizens who acknowledge the primacy of the state's interests and the inviolability of the foundations of its socialist structure might find a place now and in the future, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said when opening the plenum.

In the period since the 10th congress, the speaker noted, Poland's activity increased and its positions in the international arena were consolidated, and unprecedentedly good relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union were established, facilitated by the similarity of the processes of restructuring and socialist renewal in our countries. We shall not deviate from this path.

Party members and working people, he noted, are expecting from the plenum, above all, real results, plans and actions in the sphere of improving conditions of life and labor, and concord among all constructive forces of the people on the basis of the reforms and renewal. These problems should be resolved by joint efforts and mutual compromises. In this context national accord should also be examined as a stable and essential base for a broadly understood pluralism.

The organs of the socialist state and its powerful and reliable armed forces will make sure that its stability, social structure, and order and public tranquility are not disrupted. The atmosphere of belligerent disputes and unrestrained settling of scores must give way to the principles of joint administration, joint economic management, and joint responsibility for Poland's fate and developmental prospects.

Poland needs a strong and healthy party as a guarantor of the social structure and of the people's secure existence. It must be strong through unity and cohesion, democratism and discipline, through the boldness of its theoretical ideas and efficiency in practical deeds. Serving the interests of the working class, the entire people, and Poland—this is its constant duty, W. Jaruzelski noted.

There was a lively discussion at the plenum, which demonstrated the unanimous desire to radically restructure party work, determination to consistently and purposefully continue the policy of reforms in all spheres, and of national accord for the people's and Poland's good. In addition, divergences in opinions were observed during the discussion, particularly on the question of the attitude toward the opposition and the question of trade union pluralism.

At the concluding, closed session of the plenum's second part, PAP reports, the Central Committee members gave a clear vote of confidence (with four abstentions) in the leadership of the party headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and supported the leadership's political line.

Then the Central Committee members unanimously adopted the resolution of the the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and approved by a majority of votes the document "The Position Regarding Political and Trade Union Pluralism."

Jaruzelski Emphasizes Restructuring

PM2301130089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Prospect for Development"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jan—The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum was an important event opening up the prospect of a radical change in the life of the country and party, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has stated. Speaking at a press conference here, he stressed that the key place at the plenum went to questions of intraparty life, structural restructuring, forecasting and the quest for more fruitful forms of activity by the PZPR, and the heightening of the role of primary party organizations.

The democratization process and economic reform, he said, create a great many problems that Poland has not encountered until now. Public opinion polls show that the majority of Poles are in favor of national consensus and the broadening of pluralism. The Polish leader stressed that the decision adopted on this question by the plenum was a very important step along the path the party has been following steadfastly for many years. This was promoted by the fact that there is now a different atmosphere both on a global, international scale and on the scale of the socialist system. All countries are seeking decisions that will accelerate the building of the kind of socialism we want to see. That is why exceptional

importance is attached to the experience of Soviet restructuring, where a special role belongs to M.S. Gorbachev, as well as the experience of the other socialist countries.

In advocating the speediest holding of a "roundtable," we propose holding talks without any banned topics or preconditions, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary noted. However, trade union pluralism must not become a phenomenon that could jeopardize the foundations of the state and the process of reforms in the economy. A necessary condition of the legalization of "Solidarity" is its agreement to respect the constitutional and legal foundations of the socialist state. "Solidarity's" leading figures have not rejected this principle.

Every bold step involves some risk. But the measure of the responsibility of all the forces that would like to take part in these changes is how far they are capable of fulfilling that historic mission. Moreover, the socialist state has forces and resources at its disposal that are capable of guaranteeing its stability. W. Jaruzelski said.

Orzechowski Explains Plenum Ideas

PM1901131389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski by A. Bondar in Warsaw: "The PZPR in the New Conditions"; date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—"Are we going to carry out a kind of coup in the party? Yes, you could call it that." Those words, said by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in December during the first part of the 10th plenum, are also a good characterization of the subsequent party discussion and the course of the second part of the plenum, which began 16 January and ended at 0300 hours yesterday. The difficult discussion and clashes of views produced decisions intended to restore the party's prestige in society.

Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, agreed to tell APN's correspondent in Poland about some of the questions which Polish communists discussed at their meeting in Warsaw.

[Bondar] Correspondents are describing many of the plenum's decisions as a sensation: for example, the positive attitude toward the problem of trade union pluralism (produced, incidentally, during a difficult debate lasting many hours) or elections to the Sejm and political pluralism. Which of the problems discussed at the plenum do you consider most important?

[Orzechowski] The most important included the conviction expressed by the PZPR Central Committee of the need for fundamental changes in the party and the definition of the main areas of its activity and means of implementing those changes. Resolute changes in the party are the essential condition of the success of the strategy of socialist renewal and of the effectiveness of the reforms in the state and the economy. The 11th PZPR Congress will provide a summary of the present stage of those changes.

[Bondar] The expression "politicization of the party" has appeared in the Polish political lexicon. What does this mean in practice, in Poland's actual conditions?

[Orzechowski] A constituent of the program of reforming changes is the new philosophy of the party's leading political role in society. The issue is to give the party political features. In accordance with the new understanding of its role and place in the state and economy, the PZPR is consciously renouncing the supplanting of organs of state power and administrative and managerial functions. It is becoming, first and foremost, the ideological-political and leading force of society and the source and drive of the reform processes and progress. The party formulates the goals, programs, and tasks which it implements via the activity of its members in all links of administration and in state, economic, and social institutions. The party uses the political and parliamentary mechanisms to evaluate and monitor government and administration. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum deems it necessary to outline in specific terms the limits of the competence and responsibility of legislative power as well as of executive and judicial power. The party's functions will be separated from those of the state organs. It is necessary to clearly define the responsibility of the government and the way its activity will be evaluated.

This is going to be a difficult process, rapid initially but lengthy in implementation and even in a certain sense painful, requiring creative initiative, persistence, and determination. Its main aim is to ensure the more successful building of a modern, new model of socialism in Poland.

[Bondar] The plenum emphasized the significance of the development of intraparty democracy and the building of intraparty life on sound principles when the clash of viewpoints, opinions, schemes, and programs is the rule. The ancients were right when they said that the truth is born of debate. But does that not waste the energy and time needed for action? Or is this a change in the principle of democratic centralism?

[Orzechowski] Every political party tries to gain power, then retain and exercise that power. This is impossible without coordinated action. It is possible or, more accurately, necessary to discuss, debate, and even argue. When the time to act comes, however, the most important thing is the monolithic nature and effectiveness of the party as a political force. This is the essence of democratic centralism. But this also entails problems.

There is a universal conviction in our party that there has been too much centralism in it until now. Can the formula be expressed the other way around: implementation of the principle of "centralist democracy? In other words, how to ensure dynamic equilibrium, how to find the golden mean? We are planning measures which make the procedure of seeking and selecting cadres at all party levels as democratic as possible and which increase the independence and initiative of primary organizations. This is also a question of the possibility of important decisionmaking via the confrontation between different program concepts and the use of all-party referendums. These and other measures should help the democratization of the party and at the same time not reduce the efficiency or effectiveness of its actions but, on the contrary, increase them.

The plenum's decision says: the maximum democracy in the program searches, in debates and discussions, and throughout intraparty life—but at the same time the maximum discipline and efficiency in actions and in the implementation of decisions made. The future will show how far we succeed in approaching that ideal in practical party life.

[Bondar] There are powerful divisions in Polish society now. I have in mind convictions, orientations, and the property situation. There are those who say that the traditional division into classes is now very hypothetical. Whom and whose interests does the party represent now?

[Orzechowski] The PZPR represents the interests of people of labor in Poland, with the working class occupying a special place among them. The categories "working class," "people of labor," and "the people" are not contradictory. On the contrary: The working class is a part of the people of labor, and they form the main part of the people.

In creating socialism—a system of social justice—the party objectively represents the interests of the working class. It is the party in particular which is interested in building a society free of exploitation.

It is true that the working class in Poland today—like all our society, incidentally—is heterogeneous. In its practical activity the party must first represent the interests of the most creative and progressive people, who seek radical changes and are prepared for the social risk associated with that.

[Bondar] The plenum recognized that there is a constructive political opposition within the framework of the system existing in the country. It also recognized the concept of "opposition" as an element of the political system. Would you comment on this tenet for us, please?

[Orzechowski] The Central Committee felt it necessary to define the new formula of political pluralism as the mandatory condition of the creation of a democratic, law-governed socialist state which would meet people's needs and their desire to assume their share of responsibility for the country. Political pluralism must express the natural distinction and diversity of the political interests, orientations, and convictions of the groups and strata existing in society. Consequently it must help resolve the contradictions and disputes without harming the principled values of the social system, on a basis of legality, within the framework of the existing state structures and not in conflict with them.

One element of the new approach is the inclusion of a constructive opposition in the political system. In present conditions they may be associations, political clubs, or centers of sociopolitical thought.... Their ideas could be expressed at parliamentary level by clubs and deputies groups in the newly elected 10th Sejm.

The plenum supported the holding of elections to the Sejm on the new principles at the earliest possible date.

The timing of the elections depends on when the representatives of the authorities and of the various sociopolitical organizations, movements, and the constructive opposition hold their roundtable meeting. It is necessary to define the organizational forms and principles of representation of the various political forces in the Sejm and to elaborate the election statutes.

[Bondar] The most difficult discussion at the plenum concerned trade union pluralism: How many trade unions should there be at an enterprise—one or two? Will extremist forces not take advantage of the opportunity to try to transform the new trade union into an instrument of political pressure?

[Orzechowski] The PZPR Central Committee's position has been defined in a special document. The party speaks about the need for a strong, independent, socialist trade union movement in Poland. A trade union movement reflecting the differences in Polish society's consciousness is necessary for the healthy functioning of the system of people's power.

Taking into account the improvements in the movement toward national accord, the democratization of political life, and the country's development needs, the Central Committee supported the abolition of the legal restrictions on the creation of new trade unions. In taking such a stance, the Central Committee is guided by the conviction that the newly created trade unions will struggle for the development of the economy; that they will support the reforms, bearing in mind that the production of material assets is the condition of their activity; that they will act in accordance with the Constitution and the law as well as the status of trade unions; and finally, that the new organizations will not disrupt social peace and the stability of the state.

To achieve all that it is necessary to hold a roundtable meeting to elaborate, for example, specific political and legal guarantees. I talked about this in my plenum speech with the utmost sense of responsibility for the decision being made. The tragic experience of recent years is deeply rooted in the memory of every Pole, and there is a serious and real danger today that we might decide to expand trade union pluralism in Poland without the necessary guarantees.

Resolution on Reform Viewed

PM2001141289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Plenum Resolution"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—The process of renewal of socialism requires a profound reform of the PZPR to enable it effectively to fulfill its role in a pluralist society and in the conditions of a socialist market economy, the resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, published here, says. The Central Committee approves the guidelines for changes in the party contained in the Politburo theses and declares its confidence and support for W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the party leadership, expressing the conviction that it will ensure the successful implementation of the decisions adopted at the plenum.

The path to the creation of a modern form of socialism in Poland, the resolution notes, lies through the realization of its aims and values in the people's socioeconomic, political, and spiritual life. The realization of these values should be guaranteed by the dominant position of social ownership in the national economy, the leading role of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and intelligentsia, the role and significance of the party, and Poland's lasting place in alliance with the USSR and in the community of socialist states.

In collaboration with its allies, the PZPR seeks the formation of a sociopolitical basis in Poland founded on a state of socialist parliamentary democracy and a civil society. The party acknowledges the need to take into account the pluralism of interests and opinions and to widen the coalition basis of the exercise of power so as to allow room for an opposition that acknowledges constitutional order and operates within its limits. This will help to strengthen unity in the most important, decisive tasks for the interests of the people and state. The Central Committee advocates the widening of national consensus and the formation in Poland of a broad coalition in support of reforms, open to different opinions and views, including opposition views, and uniting all those who seek the country's emergence from crisis and want to act with respect for the laws and for Poland's state interests.

The Central Committee stresses that the implementation of long-term program goals, as well as profound changes in the party's internal life and methods of activity, should be combined with the resolution of urgent economic and political problems of the day. These include the introduction of economic reforms, the improvement of market supplies, and the lowering of the rate of inflation in accordance with the plan to consolidate the national economy.

The plenum came out in favor of preparing draft amendments to the PZPR program and statutes. These will be the subject of partywide discussion, and the results will be examined at the 11th party congress.

IZVESTIYA on Prague's Wenceslas Square 'Anarchy'

PM2301144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by TASS correspondent V. Rzhevskiy "for IZVESTIYA": "Wenceslas Square: When Dusk Falls"]

[Excerpt] Prague— [Passage omitted] The political nature of the adventure deliberately timed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of the Prague student Jan Palach and the signing of the final documents of the Vienna meeting, is indisputable. The longer such adventures persist, the clearer the problems obstructing the further democratization of society become. Learning democracy does not mean toeing the extremists' line or giving way to the emotional appeals of master intriguers. This point is bluntly expressed in the statements of workers and students. But this has not been grasped by many of those on whose rebellious feelings and cuts and bruises the opposition forces' plans are built. Some hotheads consider the evening events on Wenceslas Square as the "failure of restructuring in the CSSR."

I was told about this Friday by one of the "envoys," who described himself as a representative of so-called "public initiative and glasnost clubs." "We do not want to set alight a powder keg under our home; we want dialogue and frank discussion on all questions concerning the development of society." His standpoint coincides with what people currently are writing and saying. Only their words are translated into deeds at plants and construction sites, whereas with the former they are mere words, unsupported by real concern for the future....

Wenceslas Square demands that it be heard.... It has, however, succumbed to anarchy, condemning itself to the position of a detached observer-cum-faultfinder, which is what the organizers of the act of provocation in the center of Prague seek from their stooges.

Correspondent Views Prague Demonstrations

PM2301144589 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Prague correspondent N. Shevtsov by I. Anatolyev, over the telephone, under the general heading: "Correspondents Centers Speaking! Foreign Correspondents on the Week's Events"]

[Excerpt]

Prague

[Anatolyev] Demonstrations by antiscocialist elements have taken place in Prague in recent days. What caused them?

[Shevtsov] The 20th anniversary of the senseless self-immolation of Jan Palach, a student at Charles University Arts Faculty, served as the occasion for them. Forces hostile to socialism try to present him as a martyr and victim of the events of 1968-1969, although it was their provocative actions which led him to suicide.

The present action was carefully prepared over a long period by Western centers of subversion, Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, together with the leaders of so-called "Charter-77." It is impossible not to see, RUDE PRAVO wrote the other day, that these provocations were timed to coincide with the Vienna CSCE meeting. Their organizers sought to cause disorder at all costs and to create a tense situation in the CSSR capital.

[Anatolyev] What did happen in Prague, then?

[Shevtsov] Despite the ban issued by the state, a group of several hundred people assembled on Wenceslas Square, by the monument to King Wenceslas IV, at 1400 hours. Their response upon being asked to disperse was to whistle and hurl insults at the public security agents, who subsequently, thanks to energetic action, were able to force the demonstrators into nearby streets. Some people were injured. The situation had returned to normal by evening. There were 91 arrests. Many of those arrested, it turned out, had taken part in antisocialist demonstrations before. Criminal proceedings have been brought against certain people. Attempts were made again in subsequent days to organize illegal demonstrations in the center of Prague. They were all cut short by the public order services.

[Anatolyev] How were the events regarded in Czechoslovakia?

[Shevtsov] State organs and public organizations, including Czechoslovak trade unions and working people in the country, have roundly condemned the acts of provocation that occurred and fully supported the actions of the public security organs. The main aim the organizers of these actions seek, the Sixth Plenum of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Central Committee noted, is to hamper the process of restructuring and democratizing society. Indignation over the provocateurs' attacks has been expressed by socialist labor teams at Ostrava's Klement Gottwald Metallurgy Plant and Prague's Tesla Plant, students and lecturers at Charles University's Teaching Faculty, and the collectives of many other enterprises in the country. [passage omitted]

MSZMP, Democratic Forum Seek 'Dialogue'

PM2301151589 Moscow TRUD in Russian
22 Jan 89 p 4

[TASS report: "Dialogue Begun"]

[Text] Budapest, 21 Jan—A discussion has taken place here between representatives of the MSZMP and the Hungarian Democratic Forum, one of the country's largest alternative associations. It was held in a spirit of a joint search for ways to strengthen dialogue between the party and recently created organizations, whose activity is henceforth defined by the new law adopted by the Hungarian National Assembly on the right of citizens to create associations and unions.

The question of a multiparty system was raised repeatedly during the discussion. As is well known, the law on the citizen's right to create associations and unions does not exclude the possibility of forming new parties in the country. This question will be definitively settled after the adoption of the law on parties, which is planned to be submitted for discussion by the National Assembly before the year is out.

Paper Profiles Emergent Hungarian Parties

PM2001100789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by B. Rodionov under the rubric "Event: Substance and Opinion": "The MSZMP Proposes Coalition"]

[Text] Until very recently it was believed that political pluralism in Hungary was possible within the framework of the one-party system, with an independent role played by the Patriotic People's Front [PPF], which unites all patriotic forces, including those that do not have a Marxist-Leninist outlook. The documents of the May (1988) MSZMP conference referred to the possibility of a multiparty system as only one alternative in the period following the next, 14th party congress.

However, political processes in the country have abruptly accelerated. The original draft law on associations submitted by the government prompted sharp criticism from the public and was rejected by the PPF. The reworked draft proceeded from the basis that the right to association (including those of a political nature) is not granted by the state but is an inalienable civil right.

The law passed recently (see IZVESTIYA No 12) provides for the broadest opportunities to exercise this right, as long as it does not conflict with the Constitution, which is currently being revised.

In principle, the new law extends citizens' right of association to the formation of political parties, although the procedure will be regulated in detail by a special law on parties which must be submitted for discussion to the National Assembly in the second half of this year.

In the opinion of J. Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, who spoke during the parliamentary discussion of the draft law, none of the significant political forces in the country aspire to form a party in great haste.

At the same time, political groupings calling themselves parties have already appeared on the scene. On 9 January, that is 2 days before the law was passed, an initiative group announced the resumption of activity by Hungary's Social Democratic Party. In an interview with the newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP, the initiators said that, in their view, the Social Democratic Party has never ceased to exist, as in 1948 "only the extreme left wing joined forces with the communists." They are not convinced by the fact that the MSZMP is now placing particular emphasis on the value of the social democratic traditions of pluralism of opinions and internal party democracy with which hundreds of thousands of Social Democratic workers joined the amalgamated party 4 decades ago. At present, there are only several hundred "new" Social Democrats. They speak in favor of cooperation with other parties in the future on the basis of parliamentary democracy and are also in favor of unity and independence for the trade unions.

MAGYAR HIRLAP has also carried statements by people initiating the revival of another traditional party—the Smallholders Party—which secured an overwhelming majority of votes in the 1945 elections, although it is true that this majority was very mixed. The arguments used by the "Smallholders" are that the party was not officially banned either at the end of the forties or in 1956 and consequently does not need to register. The leaders of the revived Smallholders Party include two former parliamentary deputies elected in 1945 and 1947. A spokesman for the party said literally the following in an interview: "If the law on parties accords with our ideas, we will obviously register as a party, but if it conflicts with our program, we will not." This is how they express their interpretation of a rule-of-law state.

According to their statistics, the ranks of "Smallholders" now number 4,000 people, and they hope this number will reach 100,000 in the not too distant future. The Smallholders Party documents do not define its position on the most important issue for an agrarian party—collectivization in rural areas. As K. Revesz, the party's press spokesman, explained in a conversation with the author of these lines, the "Smallholders" are not in favor—at least not at present—of eliminating the present system of production cooperatives as such.

One can perhaps predict a greater political future for the Hungarian Democratic Forum organization than for the Smallholders Party, which is too strongly motivated by nostalgia. This organization already has 15,000 members, mainly from the intelligentsia, and has branches in every region and most of the country's cities. The forum, which according to its organizers takes a "popular national standpoint," is in favor of cooperation with the MSZMP on a number of issues. In turn, the MSZMP is prepared to cooperate, although it has remarked that this organization's documents are too vague and general. The forum is in favor of speeding up the adoption of a new constitution and the law on parties and also wants to see the early dissolution of parliament and the convening of a constituent national assembly.

"Fidesz" (the Union of Young Democrats), which is popular among students, conducts its polemics with youthful maximalism. It criticizes the present parliament—where more than 70 percent are members of the MSZMP—for failing to keep pace with life and for looking over its shoulder at the MSZMP Central Committee. "Fidesz" is in favor of free elections as the cornerstone of a rule-of-law state.

It should be pointed out that an organization known as the Ferenc Muennich Society, which intends to work in the spirit of the traditions of this well known communist-internationalist, has appeared on the left flank of Hungarian political life.

With the continuing decline in the working people's standard of living and the growing dissatisfaction in society, the MSZMP leadership is inviting all responsible political forces in the country to take part in a dialogue of equal partners and coalition cooperation, the framework of which will be determined by the constitution currently being drafted. According to press reports, it is clearly going to omit the clause on the leading role of the MSZMP in Hungarian society. The communist party will have to confirm this role in an open political struggle.

So where is the party now? Is it not sitting at home in its slippers, watching the development of events on its television screen? The newspaper NEPSZABADSAG asked this pointed question of Comrade Karoly Grosz.

The general secretary of the MSZMP has expressed the belief that the party is playing an enterprising role in the current political processes and that its potential as a mass political movement has still not been fully revealed and brought into play.

A sharp increase in party work in places of residence is now on the agenda. The party's best forces will be brought into play on the threshold of the elections, in which alternative political organizations intend to nominate candidates of their own.

Albania Hosts Balkan Ministers Conference

Foreign Minister Speaks

PM2301152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Inter-Balkan Meeting Begins"]

[Text] Tirana—According to ATA, a meeting of Balkan countries' deputy foreign ministers opened here on 18 January. Delegations from Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Albania are taking part. The participants in this forum will be discussing the results of inter-Balkan cooperation last year, exchanging opinions on plans for collaboration in 1989, and setting a date and place for the forthcoming meeting of Balkan states' foreign ministers.

Addressing the meeting, Albanian Foreign Minister R. Malile stressed that the development of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation with Balkan countries is a constant feature of Albanian foreign policy. The speaker expressed the belief that efforts will be made during the meeting to further develop multilateral cooperation in the region.

A. Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, sent a message to the participants in the meeting. The process of cooperation that has now begun in the Balkans, the document points out, is evidence that there are broad possibilities for developing relations between countries in the region in various spheres. Albania is sincerely interested in a climate of mutual understanding and trust in the Balkans and feels it is necessary to overcome existing difficulties in the interests of further developing bilateral and multilateral ties in the region.

Emerging From 'Self-Isolation'

PM2301165789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Nikolayev report: "Ice of Self-Isolation Broken"]

[Text] Athens—The meeting of deputy foreign ministers from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia has ended in Tirana with the adoption of an extensive program to further develop inter-Balkan cooperation.

In a joint communique published in the Albanian capital, further specific steps were outlined in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical, social and other spheres to develop the accords reached by the six countries' foreign ministers in Belgrade in February last year.

The Balkan countries' intention to cooperate in work to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons is expressed in the document adopted. The Greek capital's diplomatic circles note that the very fact that an inter-Balkan forum has been held in Albania is one more major confirmation that Tirana is emerging from its state of protracted international self-isolation. Even such epithets as "Albania's diplomatic surge" are found in mass media reports.

In this respect it is noteworthy that it has been decided to hold the upcoming meeting of heads of the Balkan countries' diplomatic departments in Tirana in the fall of 1990. M. Kapllani, Albanian deputy foreign minister, stressed that the Albanian Government will strive to impart new momentum to the development of inter-Balkan cooperation with its new proposals and ideas.

In a report from Tirana the Athens news agency notes that Albania's proposal to sign a political declaration on friendship, equality, and cooperation in the Balkans was even somewhat unexpected for those taking part in the Tirana meeting.

Nikonov Receives Bulgarian Official

LD1801235289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Questions concerning ways to further develop the agro-industrial complex in the USSR and Bulgaria were discussed today at a meeting between [CPSU Central Committee Politburo member] Nikonov and Bobokov, first deputy head of the Agricultural Department of the BCP Central Committee, and the comrades accompanying him.

West Europe

Sakharov, Wife To Visit Italy 5-10 February

LD2401035689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0333 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Rome, January 24 (TANJUG)—Soviet physicist and human rights champion Andrey Sakharov will visit Italy from February 5 through 10 this year. The news was confirmed to journalists in a telephone conversation by Sakharov's wife Yelena Bonner, who will accompany her husband on the journey.

Sakharov is coming at the invitation of the University of Bologna, which has awarded him an honorary doctor's degree. Besides Bologna, the Sakharovs will tour Rome, Florence and Siena, and an audience with Pope John Paul the Second at the Vatican is also scheduled.

Austria's Mock Praises Soviet Policies

LD2201082789 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 22 TASS—Austria's Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Alois Mock has praised the USSR's policy and the new mentality underlying it, for the success of the recent follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In an interview with Austrian television, Mock said the outcome of the Vienna meeting was primarily the result of an overall improvement of the East-West relationship largely brought about by the Soviet Union and its foreign policy under Mikhail Gorbachev.

FRG Official Views Gorbachev UN Speech

PM2301120089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Helmut Schaefer, minister of state at the FRG Foreign Ministry, by own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev in Bonn under the rubric "The UN Speech: Boosting Endeavor and Action": "A Correct and Important Step"; date not given]

[Text] The politico-philosophical concepts and practical initiatives and proposals set forth by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech from the UN platform are at the center of foreign policy debates in the FRG.

I talked with Helmut Schaefer, minister of state at the FRG Foreign Minister. He is 55, a prominent figure in the Free Democratic Party [FDP], and a Bundestag deputy. Before his present appointment he was a leading FDP spokesman on the Bundestag foreign policy committee and headed the FRG-USSR parliamentary group in the Bundestag for some years.

The speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, he said, is rightly regarded as a very gratifying event. It contains many important provisions which, in our view, are milestones marking the direction of Soviet policy both in the sphere of international ties and in that of security for the foreseeable future. We are glad that the changes taking place in your country found expression within the framework of the UN forum too. This turn of events leads to satisfaction in the West. The Federal Government expects a further expansion of East-West cooperation in this connection: in other words, the reasonable resolution of disarmament questions as well as the further development of economic and humanitarian cooperation, as envisaged in the Helsinki process.

The Soviet leader also spoke about regional problems in his speech. The past year was marked by significant progress in this sphere. This demonstrates that it is possible to settle regional conflicts. Let me remind you of Afghanistan, Namibia, Angola, and the Persian Gulf. I believe the time has now come for joint efforts by East and West in the Near East.

As for the situation in Afghanistan, my interviewee believes that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country, much will depend on whether the leaders of the various Afghan groupings can agree among themselves.

The talk also turned to the topic of common human priorities, which was raised in the Soviet leader's speech.

"I think," H. Schaefer said, "the view that war between developed industrial societies, taking the Northern Hemisphere to begin with, is obsolete, is increasingly gaining ground among you as well as us. War cannot solve any problem—whether political, economic, ecological, demographic, or anything else. I believe that in the mind of the man of the near future the idea of war will play no part except as a subject of historical interest. But I am afraid that the Third World will still encounter military conflicts. I am convinced the main problem of the next century will be centered on the Third World, a problem that is a challenge to states in both the capitalist and the socialist systems. But East-West conflict must recede into the past. There is no sense in it. We must develop forms of long-term cooperation and determine the foundations of a joint policy. Naturally, the different social systems will continue to exist."

The minister of state recalled that the Federal Government welcomed the decision announced by the Soviet leader on a major unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces in Europe. As a result of this decision, which was probably not easy for the USSR, my interviewee believes, the Soviet Union's superiority in the East European region will be reduced to some extent. That is a very positive measure and could be a model for further steps. We are still analyzing its significance and influence, my interviewee said.

The Soviet Union's initiative fills us with optimism, H. Schaefer continued. It could facilitate the forthcoming talks on reductions in armed forces. In my view the total final numerical strength of those forces after reductions could be lower than the 95 percent of the existing level of NATO armed forces proposed by the West. Debates are under way in NATO on this score.

In general the Soviet leader's proposals are a very important step in a useful direction. Within the framework of this development, corresponding steps could be made on our side too (of course, much here depends on the comparative figures). Especially if it is established that the offensive capability disappears, a surprise attack becomes impossible for both sides, and the asymmetries that we regard as a threat are eliminated. We think the Soviet proposals are leading everyone in the right direction. We assess them highly and give them due credit.

"I have already said," the minister of state went on, "that 1988 was a good year. It yielded many positive results in the international sphere. I expect further progress in 1989. We are on the eve of important new East-West talks. Certain steps have to be completed which—whether with the help of the United Nations or of the great powers—should bring peace to certain regions.

"But we must also see the real elements of risk and therefore strive to avoid the negative effect of conflicts not associated with East-West problems. I am referring, in particular, to the very dangerous conflict in the Near East. I also think we cannot ignore, for instance, the fact that in Europe short-range nuclear missile systems are being destroyed, while in the Near East they have appeared. That is dangerous. So there are many unresolved problems.

"But on the whole I am convinced that international developments are encouraging. Great significance will be attached to M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG. Thus if everything goes on as at present, 1989 could lead to new successes in the interests of world and Eruopean peace," H. Schaefer concluded.

Zagladin Receives Jewish Delegation From FRG

LD2001032189 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—The current and coming generations should not forget about the victims of the genocide which was perpetrated by Nazis against Jews. This is necessary so that the tragedy of Buchenwald and Oswiecim should never recur. This remark was made by participants in today's meeting in the Kremlin between Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and members of the delegation of the directorate of the Central Council of Jewish Communities of the FRG and West Berlin.

Vadim Zagladin said that the process of rectifying mistakes in the field of inter-ethnic relations made in the years of Stalin's arbitrary rule is currently under way as part of the radical reforms in all spheres of Soviet life. In particular, measures are taken to revive the rich Jewish culture, to extend knowledge on the history and traditions of this nation.

The stay and meetings in Moscow left an extremely profound impression of the members of the delegation, its head Heinz Galinski said. He expressed "admiration" with the processes of perestroyka, democracy and glasnost in Soviet society. Galinski said all that helped to strengthen the striving of people in the West for wider ties with different public organisations in the Soviet Union. Galinski believes that top priority should be attached to developing contacts between young people.

Replying to the guests' questions on the prospects for a Middle Eastern settlement, Vadim Zagladin stressed that the Soviet Union favoured a solution which would take account of the interests of all sides involved in the conflict. The recent decision of the PLO on recognising U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 is a step in the right direction. It is up to Israel now.

Yakovlev Meets With Former French President

LD1901162289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received today the prominent political figure V. Giscard d'Estaing, former French president, at his request. Certain practical questions in the implementation of the restructuring in the Soviet Union from the viewpoint of deeper participation of the USSR in the international division of labor were discussed, and there was an exchange of opinions on the prospects for the all-European process and for Soviet-French relations.

Swedish Social Democrats Visit 17-23 January

Meet With Yakovlev

LD2401070389 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—A delegation of the Swedish Social-Democratic Labour Party (SDAP) led by SDAP Secretary Pe Toresson stayed in the Soviet Union on January 17-23 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The delegation were received by Alexander Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Swedish guests were received in the socio-economic department of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), in the Institutes of Marxism- Leninism and Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and in the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The SDAP delegation made a trip to the Estonian SSR where they met with Vaino Valas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and representatives of the leadership of the People's Front, and visited the executive committee of the Tallinn city soviet as well as a collective farm.

During the visit the delegation acquainted themselves in detail with a wide range of matters pertaining to the restructuring process in the Soviet Union, and exchanged views with Soviet representatives on a number of problems concerning the international situation, the working-class movement, Soviet-Swedish relations, and contacts between the CPSU and the SDAP.

Zagladin Receives Delegation

LD2301110489 Moscow TASS in English 1053 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, today met with a delegation of the Social Democratic Labour Party's faction at Sweden's parliament, led by Party Secretary Bo Toresson.

The guests were briefed in detail about transformations in the Soviet Union, the tasks facing Soviet society at the current perestroyka state. The sides discussed a number of international policy questions, specifically ways for settling the Middle East conflict, and exchanged opinions on other problems of mutual interest.

Cypriot President Receives CPSU Delegation

PM2001142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPSU Delegation Received"]

[Text] Nicosia, 18 Jan—The CPSU delegation headed by V.S. Babichev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, which is visiting Cyprus, was received today by President Y. Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus. During the talks the leader of the Soviet delegation briefed the Cypriot head of state on the progress of restructuring in the USSR. Y. Vasiliou wished the Soviet people new achievements on the path of revolutionary transformations in Soviet society.

On the same day the members of the CPSU delegation were received by D. Khristofias, general secretary of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL] Central Committee. The state of and the prospects for the development of CPSU-AKEL ties were discussed.

Cyprus Approves Visa-Free Entry for Soviets

LD2001111289 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Nicosia January 20 TASS—The Council Ministers of Cyprus, meeting here under the chairmanship of Georgios Vassiliou, president of the Republic, has approved the agreement concluded between Cyprus and the USSR to relieve of visa formalities all persons carrying a diplomatic passport. This means that Cyprus has become the first capitalist country which can be entered by Soviet diplomats without visas.

Commenting on this event, the local press notes that this decision is a new important proof that relations between the two counries are growing stronger along with the overall climate of international trust, brought about by the new political thinking in international affairs.

Delegation Returns From Spanish Congress

LD2201215889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1736 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—A CPSU delegation led by Grigoriy Revenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev obkom of the Ukraine Communist Party, today returned to Moscow from Madrid after taking part in the Unification Congress of the Spanish Communists.

Spanish Communist Leader on Troop Withdrawal

LD2201203589 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid January 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Robert Serebrennikov:

The USSR's decision to withdraw from central Europe Soviet troops with all weapons, including tactical nuclear weapons, means a rapid movement forward towards disarmament and establishment of a nuclear-free Europe, said Julio Anguita, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.

Firstly, this unilateral initiative of the Soviet Union, he told TASS, inflicts a new telling strike on the nuclear deterrent policy at which the West clutches so much. This policy presupposes the existence of an enemy, but since he disarms unilateraly, the course for a nuclear deterrent loses any sense. Besides, the Soviet initiatives mean an important start for saving great material resources which were used for armament and are channelled for peaceful purposes now. These changes are closely followed by Spain, France, Britain and other West European countries.

In this context Julio Anguita pointed to the imperative need for conducting in Europe a more active policy of peace, disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons in response to the Soviet peace initiatives embodying the strategy of peace and disarmament.

Spanish Communist Party Holds Conference

LD2301081689 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid January 23 TASS—A national conference of the Spanish Communist Party held in Madrid agreed on the party's strategy towards the European Economic Community.

The conference was attended by members of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, leaders and delegates of regional and provincial party organisations, representatives of parties affiliated to the "united left" coalition and the communist parties of EEC countries.

After a two-day discussion the conference adopted a policy document detailing the Communist Party's position towards the European Community in connection

with increasing political and economic integration in the "Common Market". The document emphasises the need to protect the social and economic interests of the working people, as well as their civil and political rights, and points out the importance of working for peace and disarmament.

The party conference welcomed the initiatives advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations and the Soviet Union's unilateral proposals on cutting its armed forces and withdrawing its units and formations with all thier weapons, including nuclear tactical systems, from central Europe.

Europe should use the historical chance given to it by Gorbachev's new policy," conference participants said.

The European Economic Community does not cover the whole of Europe which stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals and is our "common European home". The improvement in international relations, the signing of the historic Soviet-American INF Treaty and detente have given Europe a choice. It should switch from "cold war" to extensive security cooperation and overcome the split of the European Continent. The Helsinki Final Act and the agreements reached at the Vienna meeting of the member-countries of the all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation show the right direction.

The Spanish Communist Party's policy document condemned attempts to use the European Economic Community as NATO's "European basis" and construct a "Paris-Bonn" axis.

Participants in the conference stressed the need of broader reciprocal exchanges between the European Community and CMEA as a political factor promoting trust and cooperation among nations.

The Spanish Communist Party favours the expansion of cooperation, coordination and advancement of joint proposals by the communist parties of Western Europe to ensure peace, disarmament, employment and social progress for Europe.

The conference suggested that a European forum be convened to discuss East-West cooperation and ways to advance towards the phased elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe through negotiations and simultaneous reductions of armed forces and conventional weapons.

Lukyanov Awards Lenin Prize to UK Writer

LD2001022289 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, handed in the Kremlin the Order of People's Friendship to James Aldridge, prominent writer and public figure of Britain, winner of the international Lenin prize "For Strengthening Peace Between Nations."

On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government Anatoliy Lukyanov warmly congratulated James Aldridge with the high award given for his great contribution to strengthening friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and Britain. "Your works," Anatoliy Lukyanov said, "are well known and loved in the Soviet Union. In the eyes of Soviet people you are a principled fighter for the ideals of humanism, peace, democracy and social justice, a prominent artist and true friend."

Having expressed gratitude for the award, James Aldridge said that he regarded the order as an important result of many years of work, which was always based on belief in the Soviet Union, in the peaceful future of mankind.

After the ceremony, Anatoliy Lukyanov and James Aldridge had a friendly conversation.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary Sees Soviet 'Threat' to Panama Canal

PA2101035289 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] The Pentagon has reported to the U.S. Congress that the USSR and its allies could create a threat to the Panama Canal and block U.S. ports in the Caribbean basin. This is not the first time the Pentagon has resorted to such reports. This report of a Soviet threat to the waterway between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans was used during the cold war years to strengthen the U.S. military bases in the Panama Canal Zone.

As is known, there are 13 U.S. military bases in Panama for the mobile forces under the U.S. Southern Command. The troops that intervened in the Dominican Republic and Guatemala and that backed the Cuban worms departed from these bases.

Speculations about Soviet threats emerged as the Torrijos-Carter treaties were being prepared. After these treaties were signed in 1977, Panamanians were hopeful that in the year 2000 the canal would be returned to them and the country would be freed from the U.S. military presence. As the end of the century draws closer, however, there is increased nervousness in Washington. All possible means have been employed. The United States wants to oblige Panama to give up its sovereignty by using [word indistinct], blackmail, political pressure, attempts to destroy the country's economy with economic [word indistinct], and war exercises in the canal area.

The United States is not really concerned about the upcoming transfer of the interoceanic canal to the Panamanians. The Pentagon's main concern is the dismal perspective of losing its bases. This explains the malevolent slander campaign against the Panamanian Government and the Panama Defense Forces commander. The United States has invented the story that Panamanian officials are not capable of taking over the defense of the canal as stipulated in the treaties. In other words, they want to perpetuate the U.S. military presence in Panama with the excuse that it will guarantee freedom of navigation. Thus, it is totally understandable why the Pentagon has to invent stories about a supposed Soviet threat to the canal in order to attain its goals.

Maslyukov Talks With Cuba's Rodriguez

PM2001135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Fraternal Atmosphere"]

[Excerpts] Havana, 18 Jan—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Republic's Council of State and Council of Ministers, has had talks here with Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, who headed the Soviet delegation at the 43d session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity. [passage omitted]

On the same day Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and vice president of the Republic Council of State and Council of Ministers, had a meeting with Yu.D. Maslyukov. Questions of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba were examined at the meeting.

On Tuesday the Soviet delegation headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov left for home. It was seen off at Jose Marti International Airport by Jose Fernandez Santana, vice president of the Cuban Central Planning Board, and by other officials.

The send-off party included Yu.V. Petrov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba.

Cuban Statement on Angola Withdrawal Cited

LD2001065489 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 20 TASS—Cuba has fulfilled in one month instead of three its commitment to withdraw from Angola the first 3,000 soldiers-internationalists, says a statement circulated here by the Cuban Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The withdrawal ahead of schedule of the first group of Cuban servicemen is a gesture of goodwill with regard to the fulfilment of a bilateral agreement signed by Cuba and Angola, the statement pointed out. According to the agreement, a stage-by-stage and complete withdrawal of Cuban internationalists who stayed there for 13 years is taking place today. The return of the first 3,000 Cuban soldiers was carried out under close observation of the U.N. control commission in Angola, the statement said.

Ukrainian Official Receives New Cuban Consul

AU2301143989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 18 January V.A. Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary, received A. Palo, who has just assumed the office of consul general of the Republic of Cuba in Odessa, at the latter's request.

During a conversation V.A. Ivashko gave an account of the work carried out by the republic's party organizations in implementing CPSU policy aimed at deepening restructuring, reforming the economy and the political system, and democratizing internal party and public life. V.A. Ivashko emphasized the great importance of the forthcoming election of USSR people's deputies. Candidates for the election are continuing to be nominated by the Soviet Ukraine's labor collectives and public organizations.

A. Palo provided information about the activity of the consulate general to further promote Cuban-Soviet relations and to foster the ties of friendship that have become traditional in the 30 years since the Cuban revolution.

Some issues concerning the part of the Ukrainian SSR in cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba were also touched upon.

A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev's 21 January Speech

PM2401132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Moving Forward, With No Fear Of Difficulties. M.S. Gorbachev's Speech At the 27th Moscow CPSU Gorkom Conference 21 January 1989"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

On the eve of the conference, while the preparations were being made for it, I, like other comrades from the CPSU Central Committee leadership, met with Communists from the city party organization. I met with the aktiv at the party gorkom, where I voiced my thoughts on the work of the capital's party organizations. I wanted to listen to the delegates at the conference itself. But since people want me to speak, I suppose it is necessary for me to say a few words on two questions: my attitude toward the conference, and of course, restructuring, although the first question also concerns restructuring.

I want to congratulate you on this conference. It is different from previous conferences in terms of its higher level of analysis. Fewer specious words have been uttered, and there is a sense of deeper involvement in all the problems of the capital's life and the activity of the city party organization and interpreting the party organization's role at the current phase of revolutionary restructuring. It is very important for us, for the Central Committee, and for the members and candidate members of the Politburo who are here as delegates, to hear Moscow Communists' profoundly conscious and decisive support for the political course of restructuring. I put this first.

Moreover, it is not only this support from the country's biggest party organization, which has always borne tremendous burdens and responsibility for matters within the CPSU and the country. The will of the capital's working people was also expressed here. This is extremely important, since Moscow is not only the country's state and political center but also its largest scientific and intellectual center, the focus of great economic and spiritual potential. That is why the CPSU Central Committee pays great attention to the opinion of Muscovites, the capital's working class, and its scientific and creative intelligentsia.

We are going through a phase of profound changes in society, which affect all the main spheres of our life, every labor collective, every family, and every one of us. It has not yet reached the level necessary to ensure that restructuring picks up speed like a locomotive. We are really only just launching the restructuring processes. In this difficult period we regard the voice of the capital's Communists and working people as the voice of the entire Soviet people. This is also very important because there is no other instrument for gauging the correctness of our policy apart from the opinion of Communists and working people. Especially since this opinion is being expressed in a democratic atmosphere.

I think that at both the last conference and the present one the concern of the Communist delegates and thus of the city's party organization as a whole was focused on the problems of a Muscovite's life. What is his life like and how does he feel? What problems face him both in the labor sphere and throughout his daily life? What kind of atmosphere is taking shape in labor collectives and in the city? What processes are underway in the urban economy?

A very great many problems have accumulated in the development of Moscow's production and material spheres. They must all be assessed, considered, and transferred to the plane of practical decisions. In certain sectors of the light and food industries, the services sphere, and the health services the capital's fixed assets are worse than many of the country's other regions. Moscow is also inferior to many of the country's cities in terms of trade organization.

These questions were raised thoroughly and acutely today. Some delegates said the following to me during the recess: Well, we are supposed to be sharing out the functions of party, state, and economic leadership, yet some speeches at the conference talked about the production and material sphere.

Of course, our approaches should be party-minded, from the standpoint of political work, using political and ideological methods. But there are still production tasks. Because if we place people at the center, the attention paid to them and their material position should increase, and this is in many respects linked with how things are going in production. That's not all. Tell me, what feelings can a worker have at a production unit where he spends half his life if the equipment has become outmoded, there's a great deal of manual labor, the safety equipment is backward, and so on? Last, limited manpower resources and the ecological situation in the city also dictate the need for heightened attention to these questions. Most careful attention must be devoted to the material and production sphere. Especially since the process of separating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs is only just beginning.

I want to take advantage of the presence of ministry representatives here to emphasize that ministries must really help restructure the capital's entire production sphere. This is ministry workers' party and state duty. No matter how you look at it, Moscow is entitled to priority consideration. There are tremendous forces here, a skilled working class, and science and restructuring processes can be developed more rapidly here within the framework of the radical economic reform. This must be done.

There are two sides to the question and neither of them must be overlooked, comrades. Production relations must be restructured in such a way as to restore people to the production process as the true master—through the lease, contracts, and economic accountability [khozraschet]—and to ensure that people take a real part in management and in resolving questions. This is essential—without it, restructuring won't work and nothing will happen.

But even economic accountability is not a panacea for all ills. The second side of economic restructuring is scientific and technical progress. Some people may not have liked Comrade Skokov's speech. It may not have been noteworthy for particular oratorical brilliance but it contained an important idea, which was confirmed by Comrade Samsonov, director of the watch plant—the idea that output and the production unit itself must be constantly and rapidly updated. We heard that if all output is not updated in 3 years, the watch plant will be overtaken by its market competitors and will be unable to regain its present position. Yu.V. Skokov and his specialists and scientists concluded that they need to update output within 4 years and reach a new technical level. This means that they must develop new output and technology over the next 12-18 months, organize series production within 2 and 1/2-3 years, and on this basis build up stocks, intensify incentives, and resolve questions in the social sphere.

Things won't get started in Moscow, or anywhere else, without scientific and technical progress. I think that it was correct to raise the question of relieving Moscow of its nonspecialized enterprises. The gorkom, the Central Committee, and the government should really press on with this problem. That is why I welcome the economic accent here at the party conference.

I welcome the concern with which my fellow speakers spoke of social problems. The Politburo and the government have adopted a number of special decisions on Moscow's development relating to various spheres. We consider this approach justified, and Muscovites can count on further support for the city party organization's activity in this area.

Of course, the overall situation in the country reflects on Moscow. Many goods are in short supply, notably because people from out of town often come to Moscow to shop since they cannot find these goods in their hometowns. Trade holdups even arise with goods that the country produces in adequate amounts. For instance, washing powder has almost become the number one problem: Treble the quantity that used to be sold is now sold.

The situation on the consumer marker is such that it has become misaligned. A huge amount of money is in circulation, and it has lost touch with commodity resources. That is why everyone tries to lay in stocks even when they don't even need a particular commodity. This is firing up the market. Unscrupulous people are doing business out of the shortages. Worker's control checks have shown that goods are being stashed away and appropriated, to be sold later at far higher prices through shady "channels" or under the counter.

The primary need, it is understood, is to step up the production of goods; that should ease the market. The problem is not so easy to resolve and requires profound changes in the economic structure. At the beginning of the 5-year plan we decided to give priority to the development of the light and food industries. In the third year alone we obtained 5-percent growth rates in comparison with 3.5-percent in heavy industry. Our economy is vast and suffers from a definite inertia. That is why, if we want to ensure that we have goods tomorrow and the day after, questions must be resolved today and reserves created in advance. The ministers and leaders of enterprises and party organizations present here should understand this fully and point the economy in that direction.

Well, of course, comrades, very rigorous measures are needed to put the country's finances in order. I talked about that in detail at the meeting with scientific and cultural figures on 6 January. Last year, too, we continued paying out money which hadn't been earned. That will not do. It takes no special effort to issue more "paper money"—just switch on the press and print it. But what then? We must all realize that money must be earned everywhere. You will say: That must be clearly understood in the government, too, because our omissions in economic reform make it possible to get money which has not been earned and which is not connected with the end results of labor. I have cooperatives in mind here, too. Let us work from the bottom and the top to improve our economy. The most important thing is to increase production and to pay for what is actually done.

The question now is this: We have to introduce progressive taxation. This is right. It is what happens throughout the world: Progressive taxation exists everywhere. We must carefully consider the entire mechanism of incentives and ways of harmonizing interests so that people have the desire to work and so that it is not limited. If we insist on leveling tendencies and approaches we shall remain just where we are today. It suits very many people to go out to work as they used to do, to receive money which was sometimes unearned, and to let everything go on as before. I believe that we cannot accept that.

Dear comrades, I am speaking to you with the utmost frankness so that you are familiar with our plans and approaches. Perhaps they will seem too abrupt to you, but that is how they are. Many people today, including professional economists, not to mention journalists, are saying that restructuring has achieved little, that nothing significant has happened in the market place yet, that the tension there persists, and that some working people are showing apathy and even a negative attitude to restructuring.

Surely nobody more than those who now lead the country would like things to work out well in a day or a week. Every one of us would like that. But in real life such things are impossible. Arguments of that kind are not serious. They are used by those who seek to gain cheap prestige but do not want to engage in real politics. They are concerned not with the country or with people but solely with how to draw attention to themselves.

We could take the proposed path and borrow money—say, $1 billion, and buy goods for 1, 2, or even 3 years. That doesn't take much intelligence. We did that once when we had "oil" money. We bought goods instead of advancing scientific and technical progress, improving the quality of goods, introducing incentives for both sectors and collectives, and pursuing a structural policy. We papered over our problems with "crazy" money, which came our way as a result of conditions in the oil market. Those conditions do not apply now, and we felt the pinch right away. So, should we go on pursuing that kind of policy? We consider it irresponsible and will not do it.

We need to create capacities which work for the country and the market, we need our own goods, we need to make the food industry "see sense," because 30 percent of the countryside's production here goes to waste. Light industry is old-fashioned. The chemical industry must be brought up to standard: The world as a whole makes 70 percent of its fabrics from chemicals and they are good, high-quality fabrics. It is necessary to promote technical progress through machine building, to modernize all backward sectors and, most important, to carry out structural changes in the interests of the food and light industries, in the interests of restoring the economy to people. But this will not happen instantly, comrades. We have to work on it together.

We have almost doubled our investments in machine building now and almost trebled or even quadrupled them in electronics. The aim is to open the way to scientific and technical progress. We have adopted special programs on light industry and the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, we allocated R77 billion to the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex alone and R20 billion to the light industry. We have now put "defense" to work for the light and food industries, and our defense industry workers now put more effort into orders for those sectors than into the production of the very latest aircraft. In 2 years we will be producing our own equipment in large quantities and creating a base for the future. That is our policy in action.

Things are difficult now. But we shall go on telling people the truth. Tell it all like it is! Let us not dupe, trick, or deceive ourselves into thinking that restructuring has changed everything. For 2-3 years we have thought: Where are we, what is going on around us? It has taken time to elaborate the restructuring policy. Only now are we really developing it.

We began a political reform, we are restructuring the party. Labor collectives are still only just beginning to realize their strength. But we are on the right path, a realistic path. Even though the difficulties are considerable. Particularly in the financial sphere and in money circulation. Oil prices have fallen 4-5 times. Then there was Chernobyl and the Armenian earthquake. There are considerable costs involved in Afghanistan. We took up the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism and we are sparing no effort on that, yet the loss of turnover income was R49 billion.

All this must be endured, comrades, because we are launching healthy processes in the economy, politics, ideology, culture—everywhere. Are they making progress easily? No, it isn't easy or painless. There are people whose individual interests have been hit strongly by restructuring; it takes their "gravy train" away from them. They do not applaud us. Nor does everyone applaud in the ministry and departments apparatuses where restructuring is in progress. Restructuring affects all of us, everywhere, in every labor collective—via the lease and economic accountability. But it is not through our will alone that this is being done; we have elaborated these measures at a party conference and discussed them as a whole society.

We are confident that the restructuring in the economy will succeed everywhere. Perhaps its progress will not be even, it is not impossible that there will even be setbacks if the political process does not advance at the same time and if the people are not involved in it through democratization. Hence the importance of the political reform.

We all know our history and our people and we have faith in our people. They have faced up to restructuring and are taking the country's destiny firmly in their hands. And that is the most important thing for the victory of restructuring.

Now a few words about our party affairs. Of course, we are still in the process of considering all that we have to do to ensure that the party shows itself the political vanguard. In the past we managed all spheres directly through the party apparatus. It reached the point where the Central Committee Chemical Industry Department, for example, had a subdivision in charge of organosilicon compounds. But at the same time we overlooked so many questions of society's life, people's moods, and processes in the spiritual and cultural spheres! But the party should have seen all that, known it, taken it into account, and transformed it into its policy. And should have gone from policy into practice, among the masses. We must offer prospects, open the way to new processes, and do everything to ensure that the party really reveals itself as the political vanguard. In the political sense no one will replace the party and today, given the scale of glasnost and democratization and the consideration of all the processes and initiatives from below, that is a mighty ideological and political integrating force.

The party must do its work not by means of pressure, not via bureaucratic forms, but via policy, ideology, and work with cadres. These are the party's functions, this is how the style and methods of our work must be defined, and that means more attention to primary party organizations and to each Communist and a closer link with people. That is the only way to proceed!

We live in a country with a one-party system—that is the result of history. Some people believe that a multiparty system is needed to ensure that society develops dynamically. I do not count anti-Soviets. But there are people who advocate this because they are sincerely concerned that the processes in the country should progress actively and dynamically. However, they are right only in the sense that it is necessary to seek the kind of mechanism which supports active social life and performs a monitoring function so that there are no closed zones, that everything is on view, and that the people take part in restructuring. All this is precisely what the party is striving for through the political reform and through the mechanisms of democracy, glasnost, and criticism.

We shall pursue this line firmly, whatever the cost. The crooks and demagogues are the dross, and they will pass, they will disappear; but the main values—democratization, glasnost—will remain forever. We need to know people's feelings and study their opinion, then on the basis of the feedback we receive we can elaborate the right policy and adjust it promptly.

The salutary processes underway should not be feared. They are feared by those who hold their posts undeservedly or cling to office. But what do those whom the people trust and support have to fear? Unusual situations and open discussion should not be feared. If people are in favor of socialism and fight for the people's interests, comradely discussion should be conducted with them, but to the overt enemies of restructuring we should bluntly say: Our people have made their choice—they are in favor of socialism. But socialism is open to and in the interests of people. Those who try to intimidate us with democracy and glasnost deserve to have us talk to them heart to heart.

The party has many concerns and duties. We are living through difficult but interesting times. Great times, in fact. We are laying groundwork which, once realized, will lead us to a new quality of life, a new condition of society, where attention will be focused on people—concern for their interests and concern for them—and on democracy, glasnost, responsibility, discipline, and the law. Otherwise, comrades, democracy will lose its value. How do the people regard instances where certain antisocial elements begin, in the guise of democracy, to disorganize life in the cities and republics? I receive letters and telegrams in which people ask sharply, not mincing their words, what we are up to and why more resolute measures are not being taken.

Everything must be done on the basis of law. With every day that passes we will do more and more to ensure the rule of law. We reject the demands made by some very fervent pro-restructurers that certain cadres be thrown out, that is, they propose essentially operating by the outmoded methods we want to get away from and which we condemn. Those who cling to such methods demonstrate the poverty of their political horizons, intellectual potential, and level of thinking. No, we will be extending the democratic process by strengthening the rule of law, developing glasnost, and deepening democracy inside the party.

It was said in one speech at the conference that we do not consult enough with the working class. I actually do not think that is so but, if criticism is made, it has to be taken note of. I thank you for that reminder.

In conclusion, Moscow Communists, I want you to maintain a steady tread in restructuring, not to fear difficulties, to advance, and to gather experience and skill in working in conditions of democracy, radical economic reform, and extensive openness. I harbor no doubts that our cause will succeed and that restructuring will take place!

As has already been reported, comradely conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and delegates took place during the recesses in the Moscow city party conference's work. We give their content below:

M.S. Gorbachev: Generally speaking, we have a great deal of work today. We now need to thoroughly work out a long-term agrarian policy and present it to society. For that is the most burning question. We are now wrestling with it and will be discussing it once again at the Politburo. In preparation for this we are now holding many meetings, and this practice will be continued. It is necessary to hear from people about everything that has built up and give them the opportunity to have their say. Otherwise the next Central Committee plenum could take the form of just another discussion about agrarian questions.

A more general question about the means of our development has also been keenly raised today. In actual fact you can see how the whole of society has been involved in discussion about the means of restructuring. People ask what kind of society we have built thus far. So what have we built? And what is to become of our socialist country? Are we sticking to socialist values, or are we already surrendering them in some respects? Some people worriedly ask the following direct question: But where are we headed? For myself, when asked such questions—it does not matter who the person is—I think: This is a worried person brought up in our country. Our system and our option are absorbed in us, and we ourselves, because we live in this society, do not even notice it. But we have to go further. And for that we must work on—and we are doing this very thoroughly

today—the philosophical and political principles pertaining to the renewal of our society. We must seek to make a breakthrough to conceptually illuminate the path to the goal toward which we are goal we are heading.

We must know clearly and precisely what to build and by what sort of plan. The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum will be devoted to our development prospects, and the first congress of USSR people's deputies will also discuss this.

Finally, look at how our union has revived and how many problems have built up. The people in one place are worried by one thing, the people elsewhere by another. The fate of the smaller nations [malyye narody] is also worrying. There are problems everywhere. Even in the biggest republics. Just look at Russia. After all, people have many worries here too! The fate of the Russian countryside, the fate of central Russia, where our monuments, the roots of our nation, and the sources of our statehood lie—this is a colossal problem. And the party has to tackle this problem. That's how our life is...

Voice: We are learning.

M.S. Gorbachev: Of course. We are already analyzing our own experience. We have visited socialist and capitalist countries—wherever cooperatives have been developed. And, you know, we have brought many observations back with us! The mechanisms governing cooperatives' activity there are very rigorous. Yes, an economy has to be that way. Otherwise everything comes to nothing.

We have gotten down to structural policy in earnest. Major breakthroughs are envisaged before this 5-year plan is out. However, in 1988 alone, only the 3d year of the 5-year plan, Group "B"—the light and food industries—has markedly exceeded heavy industry in terms of growth rate. It is difficult to reorient the economy immediately. It possesses colossal inertia. Just think, comrades: How can all this be turned around at a stroke? The main thing is to get it going in the right direction.

All of us—literally all of us are learning. We may lack experience, but we possess a conscience and a sense of responsibility, a civic stance. We do not lack patriotism. Everything will fall into place, comrades. It is already clear now that the people have entered into restructuring and that the country will never again be what it was.

23 January News Conference on Nonfood Goods

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["Meeting the Press: State and Prospects of the Nonfood Goods Market" program on 23 January Moscow news conference with Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development; Georgiy Vasilyevich Dzis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; Suren Yefremovich Sarukhanov, USSR Deputy minister of trade; moderated by Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy—recorded; video shows the particpants at a podium table and shots of the audience]

[Text] [Voznesenskiy] Esteemed ladies and gentelmen, comrades: Our meeting today is devoted to a very topical problem—the Soviet market of nonfood goods, its state and prospects. Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters Bureau for Social Development; Georgiy Vasilyevich Dzis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and Suren Yefremovich Sarukhanov, deputy USSR minister of trade, have come to us here today to answer questions of interest to you.

[Biryukova] Esteemed ladies, esteemed gentlemen, comrades. You know very well indeed the situation that has now emerged in our country regarding consumer goods and the need to saturate the market with these goods. We experience a colossal shortage of virtually all basic types of goods, clothing, footwear, knitwear, consumer durables, and many others. This is the case despite the fact that in the other 3 years of the current 5-year plan we considerably increased the output of consumer goods and overfulfilled earlier plans. Our party and country's leadership, our government, see the main cause of the exacerbation of this situation in the fact that for many years there was a one- sided orientation toward a higher comparative growth of the means of production as compared with the production of consumer goods.

I do not now wish to go into the historical reasons for this. I wish merely to note this fact and to cite just one figure: The light industry, which produces a considerable proportion of consumer goods—R83 billion at present—and whose relative share of the total volume of industrial output amounts to 14 percent, possesses fixed capital amounting to just 4 percent of the fixed capital of industry as a whole. Another reason is the higher growth of earnings relative to the production of consumer goods and provision of paid servies. This gap has not been narrowed, and this has been the case from one 5-year plan to another. We have, unfortunately, failed to succeed in overcoming this deficit over the 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan, even though in, say, 1988 alone the increase in retail turnover amounted to R25 billion, or 7 percent. Our country has not had such an increase since 1961. It is currently estimated that the unsatisfied demand for consumer goods amounts to approximately R70 billion.

Another reason is this: Our current increase in housing construction amounts to aproximately 15 percent. Moreover, we are currently actively developing horticultural and cooperative societies and are making land available for the construction of garden and dacha houses on 1-1.2 million plots and, of course, there arose an additional requirement for durables, such as, for example, furniture, refrigerators, televisions, and a number of other durables. Of course, we immediately experienced a shortage in these goods. We were affected also by the fact

that we had reduced purchases of imported consumer goods, and this reduction was not compensated for by production at our own fatherland enterprises. The 19th all-union party conference came very clearly to its conclusion on the need to reorient our economy basically in the direction of the social sphere, in the direction of significantly increasing consumer goods.

What short-term and long-term measures are being planned by the USSR Government to resolve this urgent and—I would say—over-ripe task, one of the key problems in our restructuring? First and foremost we are directing efforts at the better use of existing production potential. What is envisaged, moreover, is not only the better use of existing capacities in the light industries in Group B industries, but also we have laid down the task that not a single enterprise in Group A industries, including the defense complex, should be in the position of not producing consumer goods.

In addition, we are now beginning work to create new capacities. Here we have in mind not only the construction of new enterprises but also large-scale work to reorient individual enterprises in Group A and individual shops and sections toward the production of consumer goods. Here we have done an aboutface in our investment policy. Capital investments for the development of the consunmer goods sector are being increased significantly while, for example, in a number of other industries, the fuel and energy complex, heavy industry, and a number of others, they are being frozen or are even reduced to some extent. The government recently adopted a decision on reorienting 300 enterprises toward the production of consumer goods, which affects not only heavy industry and civilian industries but also enterprises which have been working for defense aims.

We have adopted measures to give economic incentives for the production of consumer goods. Starting in 1989 all profits derived by enterprises from increases in and sales of consumer goods over and above the level of the preceding year will remain at the disposal of labor collectives. You have probably read that economic measures have been adopted to stimulate the production of goods for children and the elderly at socially low prices. Approximately 36-38 prcent of all nonfood consumer goods are produced by light industry.

The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a special decision on the technical retooling of this industry. In the period 1989-95 capital investments in this sector are being doubled. Despite the difficulties the country is experiencing with freely convertible foreign currency, as you know, the government has taken up a credit of 1 billion foreign currency rubles from the FRG and for the same sum from Italy to develop industries and to purchase equipment for the light and food industries. As a result of measures already taken we will have an increase in the production and sales of consumer goods, just domestically produced, on the order of R18-20 billion in 1989, and R48 billion in 1990.

We also attach great importance to enhancing the role of local organs of authority, primarily of the republics, krays, and oblasts in saturating the market with consumer goods and paid services. We hope that the cooperatives will also develop their activities at a faster pace for the production of consumer goods. As of 1 January we had something on the order of 15,000 cooperatives in which 300,000 people were working, who were engaged in producing goods for the population. Over the past year they produced goods worth approximately R1 billion.

Elaboration of a plan for the economic and social development of our country in the period 1991-2005 has now entered the final stage, and we are incorporating in this an increase of 2.5-3 times for the production of durable consumer goods, and an increase of 1.8-2 times for the production of light industry goods.

[Voznesenskiy] We are moving to the second part of our work. Go ahead.

[Barath] Jozsef Barath, correspondent of Hungarian Radio. As is well known, in the Soviet Union there are no official data on inflation or a subsistence wage. Why is this so? Doesn't the government consider it necessary to have such data? I am, of course, interested in your assessment.

[Biryukova] We do not dispute and we do not say that we have no inflation. There is inflation. Although we did not have a centralized rise in prices, a concealed rise in prices did indeed make itself felt, especially with the transition of enterprises to the new economic mechanism. The government has already given instructions to the USSR State Committee for Statistics to provide a price index on an annual basis, and the committee is currently working out these figures. The first that was published was recently in IZVESTIYA on how prices look for certain types of consumer goods as compared with 1980.

I can also give the figures as compared with 1985. On average, say, this increase on light industry goods is 3-5 percent, but these are average figures. If we take individual groups of goods, say, such as ladies' winter coats, we have an increase of about 17-18 percent, and on certain types, 30 percent. You cannot make a comparison here; they aren't the same goods. If we take the coats that we were making for a period of 5 years and the coats that, say, are currently made by the Salyut factory, or the Vympel factory, these are from the view point of quality totally incompatible, totally incomparable, goods. The other point is that, along with these items, at other enterprises we must not reduce production of cheap goods.

[BUSINESS WEEK correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from BUSINESS WEEK: You mentioned that some 300 enterprises will be reoriented toward producing consumer goods, including the defense industry. Can you

say exactly how many defense industry enterprises will be reoriented to produce consumer goods, and what consumer goods they will produce after reorientation?

[Biryukova] Well, first I must say that even now the defense industries produce quite a few consumer goods, including consumer durables. For example, televisions, refrigerators, vaccuum cleaners, washing machines, bicycles, motorcycles, and much else. The enterprises in these industries have completely assumed the production of equipment for light industry, the food industry, and trade. We can say that for light industry alone in the next 5-year-plan period they will have to produce equipment worth no less that R7-8 billion.

Now, what will be removed? Well, you know that at the moment medium-range missiles are being eliminated, and the enterprises that used to produce these missiles will produce consumer goods and equipment. You know that talks are now under way on a reduction of conventional weapons. Consequently the works involved in this will also produce consumer goods. Finally, when he spoke at the United Nations Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev voiced our proposals, so to say, and our decision to reduce armed forces and weapons in the next few years, and consequently these capacities will be freed.

Well, I could say specifically there are many new sites that were destined, let's say, in Yelabuga, for example, to produce tractors. It will be converted—even now it is being busily converted—to car production. This will be approximately 900,000 cars annually, and they will be the cheapest cars. We expect to start the first production in 1991 or 1992.

[PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] I am from the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER. Mrs Biryukova, some expert economists have suggested that the Soviet Union should use some of its old reserves of hard currency to buy consumer goods abroad to satisfy the consumer demand that has built up.

[Biryukova] Our main policy in this sphere is actually to buy in new technology and machinery to produce our own consumer goods, which is really what we are doing, for as long as we have not created our own modern equipment in the necessary quantity. As for buying in consumer goods, even now we are buying consumer goods and do not rule out doing this in the future. I could cite to you: For example, in 1989 we have about R20-21 billion of imported consumer goods.

[(Nikolayev)] Correspondent (Nikolayev) of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA. My question is for Comrade Sarukhanov. How do you see the situation today in Moscow and the country as a whole with regard to inexpensive soap? When will Muscovites see inexpensive soap in the stores?

[Sarukhanov] Until quite recently the market for soap and all toiletries and detergents was perfectly calm. Then, in the second half of last year, there came a so-called speculative demand, as a result of which the people started to buy up soap, household detergents, toiletries, and so forth to hoard them for the future.

Measures have now been taken to increase soap production and to buy imported detergents and toilet soap. These measures will make it possible for us in the nearest future to normalize our detergents market. I think that there are no grounds for our population to fear that we will be left without soap, and I think that there are no grounds for buying such a quantity of detergents for future use.

[(Lin)] I am (Lin), from ZNAMYA. I have a question for Comrade Dzis. Wholesale trade fairs of light industry goods are held annually in the RSFSR. As a rule, they do not find their way to free trade. All the goods are distributed according to an order schedule—which factory ought to sell how much and to whom. That is, it becomes senseless to hold a fair. How is this done in your area in the Ukraine?

[Dzis] We have been holding wholesale trade fairs for more than 10 years now. We have acquired considerable experience in staging them. At first we made the producer's opportunities freely to sell his goods to any purchaser subject to regulations. This, however, was prompted not by a wish to impose restrictions, but by the wish to make it possible for all areas to enjoy the production of this or that factory and thus to introduce competition in this matter. Ever since last year's fair our line has been this: that purchasing and sales ought to be free. This led to more locally produced goods remaining in the oblast or town where they are produced. Whether this is good or bad I am bound to say we will see, life will show.

All the same, two tendencies predominate here. Some say that production must be made more varied, whereas others say it is necessary to make it possible to saturate the market locally. Well, this free sale has led to more production remaining where it was produced.

[National Public Radio correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from the National Public Radio. I would like to ask Mrs Biryukova about a social matter which has attracted criticism from the Soviet press. Last month there were several articles about the high rate of abortions in the USSR and about the conditions in Soviet hospitals where abortions are performed. The last article I saw was last week in MOSCOW NEWS. What would your answer be to women who complain about the conditions that are being created for abortions?

[Biryukova] First and foremost, I would like to say that our women's complaints about having to have many abortions done instead of using appropriate contraceptives are legitimate complaints. That is why, you know, a considerable

improvement of the state of our health care was among the first major social programs to be debated by the Politburo and adopted. Even though the 5-Year plan was already closed, the government sought and found an additional R8 billion during the current 5-Year Plan for the development of the material and technical base of health protection. This is the first thing we ought to do.

In the second place we are currently undertaking major measures to improve the situation in our hospitals. I did read the article in question, and I instructed Comrade Chazov forthwith, and I instructed the deputy minister and head of the main administration of health protection of Moscow City to get to the bottom of this: to find the author, to find out in which polyclinic or hospital this took place, so that the comrades can, first, be brought to account as appropriate and, second, so that help is forthcoming, so that the essential material and technical conditions are created there. Over the next few years, over the 18 months to 2 years we must alter this radically and develop the contraceptive industry.

[WALL STREET JOURNAL correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from the WALL STREET JOURNAL. You have spoken about increasing the production of consumer goods. But you have a problem not only with production but also with quality. The USSR is among ther world's largest producers of footwear, but no one wants to buy this footwear. What do you intend to do in order to, first, ensure a level of quality commensurate with the modern standards, and produce goods people really want to buy? Thank you.

[Biryukova] First and foremost, we are introducing new equipment, new technology. We are building several tanneries, because our footwear frequently fails to attain high quality for the reason that the raw materials for this footwear are of low quality. Hence this technical retooling of the footwear and tanning industries is primarily on the basis that high quality will be obtained. Of course, we are raising the qualifications of the workers. You know that we are creating joint enterprises. In particular, already two joint enterprises with the firm (Datsart) from the FRG, have begun work. They are (Lenvius) and (Belvius). Well, the main thing is that high quality in footwear lies in the modern level of the machinery and technology on which it is produced.

[Voznesenskiy] Ok, go ahead.

[THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question from THE NEW YORK TIMES for Mrs Biryukova. Continuing on the subject of prices, a couple of weeks ago the Politburo announced several measures for conrolling prices set by the cooperatives, that there would be preference given in government loans and raw materials to cooperatives that sell their production at state prices.

[Biryukova] You know that recently there has been a very great deal of criticism of the government and enterprises to the effect that on occasion enterprises without good reason or good cause raise prices on one or another type of their production. Moreover, this applies not only to cooperatives but also to enterprises producing consumer goods, to state enterprises, and to enterprises with material and technical production.

For this reason the USSR Council of Ministers adopted on 5 January a resolution on measures for removing shortcomings in the established practice of pricing. The resolution stated very precisely that work should be intensified on setting up cooperatives, but also that priority should be guaranteed in the development of cooperatives, in their material and technical supply, in the granting of credits, in the granting of tax and other benefits primarily to those cooperatives which are to produce at state retail prices, or no higher than state retail prices, and provide services at rates not exceeding the state rates.

But this doesn't mean that we are in some way or other erecting a barrier to cooperatives selling at contractual prices. No, contractual prices will remain as they were. But in public catering it is recommended, for example, to set, to recommend, that prices in public catering, in cooeprative cafes and restaurants, and markups on output, should not exceed the level of markups in top-category restaurants. We have many cooperatives that work wonderfully. They have perfectly acceptable prices. A number of cooperatives are very sharp at pushing up their prices and are receiving unearned wages. Unearned wages are a social injustice with regard to the working class in state enterprises.

[Voznesenskiy] I would like to thank all our speakers and you for your active participation in this work. All the best.

'Urgent Measures' in Tajikstan; U.S. Offers Help

LD2401090689 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers have expressed deep condolences to the victims of Monday's [23 January] earthquake in Tajikistan and to those who lost relatives and friends in the natural disaster. Urgent measures are being taken to help the survivors. Teams of medics with the necessary equipment have arrived in the disaster area. Machinery is coming in for clearing the debris. The quake destroyed more than 400 houses, 100 of which were buried by a landslide. The number of killed is estimated at about 1,000 persons.

Meanwhile, the United States has offered help. Acting Secretary of State Michael Armacost [title as heard] met with Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Dubinin in Washington

and offered to send a group of specialists to the area hit by the quake, if the Soviet Government deemed it necessary. The Soviet ambassador expressed gratitude to the United States.

Relief Efforts Outlined

LD2401144889 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Dushanbe January 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents Galin Gridnevan and Leonid Pilman in the quake area:

Life in the mountainous Gissar District in Soviet Central Asian Tajikistan took a tragic turn on Monday when the area was hit by a severe earthquake.

Tents and shepherds' traditional conical yurts now stand in place of solid peasant houses which were ruined by tremors.

Smoke from bonfires and field kitchens hangs low over the villages of Sharora, Okulibolo, Okulipoyen and Khisor, which were in the epicentre of the quake.

The funeral processions seem endless.

Work is continuing for the second day to clear debris in Sharora where 54 houses were buried under an enormous landslide started by the quake which measured force 7 on the 12-point Soviet scale.

According to updated figures, almost 600 people lived in the village. Families in Central Asia are traditionally large, usually 10 to 15 people strong.

More than 100 people have so far been hauled from the wreckage, but only one, 27-year-old Sergey Murativ, was alive, though in grave condition. He was rushed to the Central Gissar hospital and surgeons are fighting for his life.

Rescue workers keep digging for survivors.

A second convoy of trucks arrived in the stricken area on Tuesday, with 40 prefab wooden cottages, more than 100 yurts, and winter tents for people left homeless by the quake.

Some of the families were given shelter by their relatives and friends from nearby villages and the town of Gissar. Another convoy of trucks is expected by Tuesday evening.

Senior officials from the Tajikistan building committee visited the area and selected a site for a new large settlement. Construction work is to get underway early in February.

Ravshan Kayumov, chairman of the Gissar District Governing Council who is in charge of rescue work, did not conceal problems as he described efforts to organise public catering and trading services in affected villages.

Drinking water is in short supply. Water supply lines and natural springs are either buried under a thick layer of mud or were destroyed by the tremor, while frequent traffic jams hinder water supplies by road tanker.

Trucks carrying fuel and building materials too, can only make slow progress as the highway from Dushanbe to the stricken area is heavily congested.

As these correspondents left the quake area, they saw an elderly villager leading a huge bull down the middle of a road without paying any attention to honking cars.

He was Abdukakhor Rakhmonov, 78, taking the bull to Sharora from the neighbouring village of Dusti.

"May the survivors cook plov (a Central Asian meal of rice and meat) and have a funeral party to commemorate the dead. My fellow villagers are following behind with more food," he said as he continued on his way.

Tajikistan's Russian-Tajik Ethnic Conflict

PM2401105389 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 5

["Our own correspondent" V. Yurlov "Letter from Tajikistan": "Tree of Internationalism: Roots and Crown"]

[Text] Dushanbe—When I was a child my three closest friends were Asadullo, Abdullo, and Ziyadullo. We lived on the outskirts of Dushanbe, in a settlement of unauthorized construction that no one ever called anything except "the haunt of rascals." It was a desert that grew so hot in the summer that birds would avoid it. One day the father of my friends, uncle Nasrullo, a strongly built man with a black moustache, brought a sapling plane tree and told us to plant it. There was no street pump or irrigation canal nearby and we had to go for water to the Dushanbinka River, which flowed 1 kilometer from our house. The plane tree survived, and when we grew up it often protected us under the shade of its branches from the heat: There was room enough for everyone.

"A journey is halved if you travel it with a friend," the Tajik saying has it. You cannot count how many such friends the Tajik people have: Representatives of over 50 nations and ethnic groups live on this ancient land. They live as equals, feeling profound respect for each other, without wounding anyone's dignity. This is notable, although outwardly there would seem to be no manifestation of it.

I think that not the least role here has been played by the changed attitude of the newly arrived population toward the indigenous population. From a disdainful perception

of a people who allegedly had to be dragged up to their own level, their attitude has been naturally transformed into one of respect. This is a fundamental element, and here's why.

To call things by their names, at some period, particularly in the postwar years, the ordinary consciousness of an individual section of the inhabitants of Tajikistan was not devoid of chauvinism. This was expressed in inward beliefs of superiority over the indigenous population. This was not human culpability—rather a misfortune.

An interesting detail: Apart from specialists, it was mainly simple people fleeing famine who came to Tajikistan. The Tajiks shared their last piece of bread with them, took orphans into their large families, and greeted the refugees hospitably. The Russians took their places at lathes and did not shun the hardest work. They worked alongside Tajiks, taught them their trade, and at the same time learned much from them. For instance, how to lay out orchards and vineyards or how to flee the exhausting heat more reliably. No problems arose. But stereotypes do live. Alas, often in my childhood I would hear some drunken Russian peasant insulting a fruit trader or simply a passerby.

Is it always easy to give an objective assessment of existing interethnic relations in socialist Tajikistan, whose normal development is occasionally tested? For a thoughtful person yes, it is easy. But the mass consciousness is unable to consider all the contradictoriness of processes. It is far simpler to draw the hasty conclusion that "it is 'they' who are to blame."

Here is a picture I observed in Dushanbe in the fall: Tomatoes had been delivered to the vegetable store, and half of them turned out to be rotten. The waiting line was an international collective united by a common feeling of anger, and was cursing the trade for all it was worth. The unanimity was violated by a comment: "When there were fewer of you there was enough of everything for us!" Of course, the immediate response was: "But what would you do without us"... And they were off. No one heard the voice of a sensible person who tried to stop the exchange.

A trivial example, but one taken from life. It reminds us that problems arise as a rule where the alleged or real interests of different groups of the population cross. Recently we have frequently been convinced that these differences can also arise in a socialist society, and today our main task is to prevent them from reaching the point of antagonism and enmity. And restructuring has given us the means for resolving this task—glasnost. Let the frank discussion of problems, the calm comparison of different viewpoints and approaches, become the rule. After all, if this principle is violated, you can expect trouble.

In late 1987 the Tajik state university students "became agitated." Some people believe the pretext was the publication in one newspaper of a series of articles about the infringement of the rights of Tajiks living in Uzbekistan. In the authors' opinion this was manifested in the shortage of printed material in the Tajik language and also in the fact that in the neighboring republic it is difficult to get a child into a school or kindergarten where the language of instruction is Tajik.

Of course there were grounds for this: After all, there are 600,000 Tajiks living in Uzbekistan. Especially as in Tajikistan itself much is being done to satisfy the national cultural needs of the Uzbeks living here. There are 952 schools operating here in which Uzbek is the language of instruction, and they are all provided with the necessary training and methodological literature. The teacher cadres for these schools are trained at a number of faculties of the Dushanbe and Leninabad pedagogical institutes and other VUZ's in the republic. Since last year some bonuses have been set for young men and women of Uzbek nationality entering VUZ's in Tajikistan. The Uzbek language is the third language in which conversation is conducted at sessions and in standing commissions and at sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. Supreme Soviet documents are also published in the three languages.

Today the students cannot be quieted by a peremptory cry. And indeed a decision has been made not to make such attempts. They turned to the writer Satym Ulugzode. The elder of the republic's literary workshop did not refuse the difficult mission. Only recently restored to the party, he knows the cost of adversity and human grief. The writer spent a whole day among the students. He argued and made them listen to reason with his impressive words of civic-mindedness. He persuaded them, the conflict was successfully extinguished, and the students went to their classes.

Soon a representative delegation from Uzbekistan arrived, headed by Central Committee First Secretary R. Nishanov. The guests from the fraternal republic visited workers' collectives and the students and met with the public. This was a useful trip. The question of the additional opening of Tajik schools was soon resolved in Uzbekistan and newspapers in the Tajik language began to be published. Dushanbe Television arrived in Samarkand and a training department for school dropouts from the ranks of young Tajiks opened in Bukhara.

"Only nationalism produces rapid shoots," Rasul Gamzatov wrote once. "True internationalism is harder to form." Of course, how convenient it would be to have the relevant textbook for this difficult discipline in which everything was written out under specific chapters. Actually, there is such a textbook. It is called life. And the formation of our world outlook and conduct depends on how the material is set out in it. And we must take an examination every day. Do we always pass it successfully?

There are also "fail marks." The most serious is still remembered by all inhabitants of Dushanbe. I have in mind not the mass disturbances themselves, which erupted that winter evening near the "Tajikistan" movie theater and were accompanied by nationalist cries and the beating of people of nonindigenous origin. It is not even a case of the fact that up to 3,000 people took part in this atrocity, and when the wounded began to appeal for help a number of hospitals and polyclinics refused to accept them on far-fetched pretexts. I think the main thing lies elsewhere: These events were not promptly examined at the republic's highest party level at the time and did not meet with a proper assessment. The Dushanbe party gorkom bureau described the nationalist disorders as "hooligan manifestations that arose spontaneously," and the doctors who did not do their duty were described as having "failed to meet the standard." Only after the events in Alma-Ata in December 1986 did the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee call things by their names and give a principled assessment of the occurrence. It is true that by that time, alas, new instances had had time to accumulate...

Since then questions of interethnic relations have not left the agenda. The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in April 1987 noted that there has also been a worrying and clearly discernable trend in recent years toward national isolation and the desire of some people to communicate only on an ethnic or even local basis. In many collectives and even whole rayons only a few representatives of the nonindigenous nationality have remained. In some places there are none at all. Every year an increasing number of people of nonindigenous nationality leave the republic and the number of interethnic marriages declines. The trend toward the exodus of the Russian population from Tajikistan continues. Every year the proportion of Russians in the republican party organization declines.

There are many reasons for this. But it is an open secret that the cadres structure in national economy sectors does not correspond to the republic's ethnic composition. Although the proportion of Tajiks here is 60 percent, they account for only slightly more than 27 percent of personnel at industrial enterprises and in the construction industry. Of course, representatives of the indigenous nationality comprise the overwhelming majority of those employed in agriculture, and the very hard business of cultivating cotton rests mainly on the shoulders of Tajiks. But for complete clarity it would be more correct to compare this figure with another—with the number of those working in the supply and sales and trading organizations, where representatives of the indigenous nationality make up half the personnel.

It is far from always that the arithmetic approach in analyzing interethnic relations makes it possible to draw the correct conclusions, and obsession with percentages can distort the true picture. That is why I want to stress that the correlation between national composition and national cadres is still not the picture of ethnic relations. But it is the foundation on which national relations can grow. And I think there is no need to explain the role of this foundation.

"A specific shift in resolving problems of interethnic relations was effected after the 27th CPSU Congress," I was told in a talk by A. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Abdurakhman Dadabayevich said that political clubs of interethnic friendship have been created in labor collectives and educational establishments and atheistic study days are held. The reserve of nomenklatura workers and the organization of admission to the party have been brought into line with the labor collectives' national composition.

Today it is already possible to speak of the first experience and problems of the system that has been created for regulating the ethnic composition of cadres and to speak of the intensification of its positive influence on international education. The main provisions of this system are reflected in the comprehensive program for the international and atheistic education of the republic's population for 1987 through 1990. In nationalities policy, as in other spheres, it is essential to consistently implement the basic principles of restructuring—democratization, glasnost, openness. That is the key in which we are striving to work.

...Tajikistan's capital, Dushanbe, is often called a garden city. And that is indeed the case. The Dushanbe people tend their trees lovingly. On the hottest day you can walk down the central Lenin street and not a single sunray will touch and burn you. So it is with friendship, whose shoots develop best given a caring attitude.

6-point Aftershock Felt in Armenia 24 January

LD2401140989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jan. (TASS)—Sergey Grigoran, director of Armenia's Geological Sciences Scentific Research Institute, said today in an interview with a TASS correspondent that an underground tremor with a force of up to six points and an epicenter to the northwest of Kirovakan was recorded today at 0530 Moscow time [0230 GMT].

"The earthquake did not come as a surprise to us," he said. We had previously notified the population of the imminent danger, and the necessary measures were taken. Our forecast has been fully confirmed. Our American seismologist counterparts helped a great deal in this. After the first destructive shocks of the earthquake of 7 December last year, they proposed helping us study earthquakes, and brought in and set up 30 highly up-to-date seismographs. This enabled us to forecast recurrent shocks."

"Our work is of scientific significance, first of all," said Charles Miller, a representative of the American Geological Research Institute, who has come to Yerevan to coordinate the activities of his own institute and the Yerevan Scientific Center. "However, we all hope that the results of our activity will be of great use to the builders of Armenia."

Scientists' Forewarning

LD2301184489 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 23 TASS—Scientists have warned about a possible seven-point tremor in two Armenian regions, Razdan and Aparan, that were already hit by an earthquake last December.

Underground shocks decreased and the ground water regime in exploratory wells changed lately, and researchers believe that these phenomena portend a dangerous release of energy accumulated in the earth's crust.

Study of these processes gives ground to believe that the movement of the earth's crust will continue for several more months but its magnitude will be noticeably decreasing.

The population has been warned about possible shocks.

Trial of Zvartnots Airport Demonstrators Opens

PM2401112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS correspondents P. Shamrayev and A. Shchiglenko report especially for PRAVDA under the rubric "From the Courtroom": "Echo of Zvartnots"]

[Text] Yerevan—None of the 300 passengers on the IL-86 airbus on the 4 July flight from Moscow to the capital of Armenia suspected that the cause of their airliner's forced second attempt to land... was crowds of demonstrators blockading the Zvartnots Airport building and thus jeopardizing the safety of air traffic. Fortunately, their flight ended safely: The demonstrators gave permission for the airbus to land "as an exception."

The IL-86 incident is only one of the episodes in the indictment in the criminal case brought by the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office against A. Gevoyan and A. Pogosyan. They are accused of organizing unlawful mass actions, as a result of which the work of the airport was disrupted 4-6 July 1988. The trial of this case has opened in the Armenian SSR Supreme Court. It was preceded by a difficult and painstaking investigation into all the circumstances leading to these events.

During a rally in Theater Square on 4 July, two unidentified persons in civil aviation uniform were brought onto the rostrum by A. Gevoyan, with the permission of the "Karabakh" committee, and they called on those assembled to go to the airport to force its collective to strike. Their call was taken up.

At Zvartnots the demonstrators blockaded the approach road to the airport, the air terminal, and the building of the republic civil aviation administration. One group of up to 500 people occupied the check-in hall and disrupted the issuing of airline tickets and the departing passengers' check-in of their bags. Each check-in desk was blocked by 10-15 demonstrators who sat on the desks, scales, and conveyer belts. Flight departures were suspended and the work of the airport was paralyzed.

The 38-year-old Albrik Gevoyan was fired from his last place of work as machine operator at the "Lazernaya Tekhnika" science and production association 25 April last year with a negative character reference. However, this did not stop him from becoming an activist of the rally movement and gaining the trust of the "Karabakh" committee, which gave him access to the microphone at any rally. It was Gevoyan who brought to the rostrum the two mysterious "fliers" who issued the provocative calls for a march on Zvartnots.

At the airport Gevoyan led the group which negotiated with the management and demanded that it call a strike.

Later he held talks with a leader of the republic ministry of internal affairs on withdrawing military units from the territory of the airport, threatening that in the event of a refusal a group of tourists would be taken hostage.

The actions of the protestors were also directed by 30-year-old Artur Pogosyan, who the previous summer had also been fired from his job as an unskilled worker at a household goods store for absenteeism. In his evidence to the trial he declared, not without pride, that at a certain time last year he came to feel he possessed oratorical abilities and, with the confidence of a leader, he led one of the columns of demonstrators heading for the airport during those July days. Together with Gevoyan he led the seizure of the airport and then returned to Theater Square to fetch another group of demonstrators to join the demonstration at Zvartnots.

As a result of the unlawful actions of the demonstrators headed by Gevoyan and Pogosyan—and possibly a number of other persons not yet identified by the investigation—the work of one of the country's major airports was disrupted for several days. Around 50 flights were delayed during this time. The state lost planned revenues totaling R633,000, not counting the losses that resulted from damage to doors and windows in the airport building.

Gevoyan and Pogosyan have been charged with committing a crime described in the Armenian SSR Criminal Code as organization of or active participation in group

actions connected with violation of public order and refusal to comply with lawful demands of representatives of the authorities and entailing disruption of the operations of a state enterprise.

It will, of course, be the court which ultimately decides the defendants' degree of guilt. G.A. Nadaryan, an experienced lawyer and member of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, has been appointed chairman of the court. Well-known Armenian specialists in the sphere of jurisprudence are taking part in the trial, and this applies also to the defense. The hearings are taking place in one of the halls of the republic supreme court.

Statements by A. Gevoyan and A. Pogosyan have been heard at the trial. The court has now begun questioning witnesses.

Armenian Reader Casts Blame for Ethnic Strife

PM1801134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[O. Galustyan "Topical Letter": "Concerning Problems Considered Even Quite Recently To Be 'Delicate': National Enmity Is Rooted in the Spiritual Aridity of Past Decades, one IZVESTIYA Reader Believes"]

[Text] Moscow—I am Armenian by nationality, I grew up in Krasnodar Kray, served in Azerbaijan, studied in Osetia and Moscow, and have worked in Lithuania, Armenia, and on the Baykal-Amur railroad. In my entire life (I shall be 50 soon) I do not recall one occasion when someone insulted me or my children because of our nationality. The postwar years, when the Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Adygeys, and Greeks inhabiting our region lived in harmony, are impressed on my memory.

Those amicable relations among people of different nationalities were based on work. Everyone worked, from morning till late evening. Often whole families worked. No one sought an easy life. The important thing, in my opinion, is that the main figure in interethnic relations was the working man.

But now? Have we not seen the prestige of conscientious, honest work declining before our every eyes, particularly in the so-called period of stagnation? Therefore, it is fair to ask: Are the present negative phenomena, including the interethnic conflicts, not connected with that very fact, including with the unemployment of a part of the population, especially young people?

The durability of our internationalism has been tested more than once. The Soviet peoples' reaction to the Armenian tragedy was truly the epitome of those internationalist feelings. I saw with my own eyes the nightmarish aftermath of the earthquake and people's indescribable suffering. The grief was immense. But the support of friends who shared it was immense, too.

During those days, however, I also witnessed something incredible. Rumors, growing more monstrous all the time, circulated around Yerevan. Even in such a situation there were demagogues trying to exploit the nationwide grief.

In spreading the most improbable rumors the extremists are essentially continuing to pursue their own strategy, which is to inflame the situation in Armenia and exacerbate relations between the two neighboring republics, regardless even of possible bloodshed and the deaths of innocent people. The only correct decision in that situation is the use of force by the authorities, and, as is well known, force was used.

But I, apparently like many others who are truly concerned about the fate of Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and the fatherland, have the following question: Who debased mutual relations between the two neighboring peoples to this level?

Quite often people say that the conditions for this were created by the policy of the former first secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committees in the republics, G. Aliyev, K. Bagirov, and K. Demirchyan. Those leaders bequeathed a most grave legacy—in political, economic, and national relations. This can be heard from many respected people in both republics. That is why the activity of former and current leaders should be carefully investigated and the appropriate conclusions drawn from the analysis.

But it would be too simple to attribute all these phenomena merely to the shortsighted policy of former leaders or the ill will of present extremists who are fanning national hostility. I think that the philistine atmosphere of past decades also left its mark on the formation of the views of a certain part of the population.

...As we flew in toward Moscow three of the children I was bringing home with me from disaster-struck Leninakan could not sit still: "Uncle Oskiyan, will we be too late to see the Kremlin?" Expectation shone in the children's eyes. We adults will not disappoint their hopes! Let them know that they are living in a great, common home.

'Generalization' on Spitak Disorder Rejected

PM2401095789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and S. Taranov under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "What Happened in Spitak?"]

[Text] The television company Antenne-2 has broadcast an interview with Alain Michel, leader of the French charitable organization Amitie-Pologne, who had returned from a trip to Armenia accompanying freight for the earthquake-stricken population. He alleged that a considerable proportion of the aid reaching Armenia

from all over the world fails to reach the addressees because of organizational disorder. He said that anarchy and thievery prevail in the places to which the French have delivered freight and tried to organize its distribution. The leader also reported that his group was subjected to a bandit attack and that only intervention by soldiers saved the situation. A considerable proportion of the aid reaching Armenia was said to end up in the hands of local "mafiosi" and speculators.

S. Bablumyan and S. Taranov, our special correspondents in Yerevan, asked V. Yerin, Armenian first deputy minister of internal affairs, to comment on this report received through TASS channels.

"This obviously refers to what happened in Spitak. There a group of criminals stopped two French trucks and tried to seize the clothing they were carrying. The looters were arrested, and an investigation is being conducted to establish all the details of the crime. Everything taken has been recovered and returned to its lawful owners. Internal affairs organs have instituted several other criminal proceedings connected with thefts of the aid reaching us. But I must say that there is immeasurably more talk about thefts than there are concrete facts. And so I see no grounds for broad generalization.

"Of course, there have been and still are errors in organizing records and controlling distribution. In particular, very many errors were made at the beginning. This work is now being regularized and is being done in an atmosphere of greater glasnost. And this must help the struggle against rumors and fabrications, which complicate the already complex situation."

It only remains for us to add to what the first deputy minister said that answers to the questions—how much food and industrial goods have been received from abroad and where have they been sent?—could have been obtained from a report published in the local press 14 January. Right down to the exact number of shoes sent to the "Alyye Parusa" young pioneer camp at Yevpatoriya, where Armenian children are now living—precisely 430 pairs.

Freight Check for FRG Aid to Armenia Canceled

PM1801114189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Ye. Shestinksiy report: "Aeroflot: Business Has No Place in a Tragedy"]

[Text] The West German newspaper BILD has reported that Aeroflot presented a check for DM650,000 to the West German Red Cross for carrying its cargo to the disaster-hit population of Armenia as part of the provision of free aid.

We asked L. Seliverstov, chief of the Ministry of Civil Aviation's Foreign Relations Administration, to comment on this decision.

"Indeed, a check was presented, but Aeroflot had nothing to do with it. It was done by the Soviet-West German joint firm 'Transnautik'—Aeroflot's agent in West Germany. That firm was set up not by the Ministry of Civil Aviation but the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet.

"Our commercial administration is now clarifying all the details of that decision. We shall cancel it, of course—that is within our power. Especially since before the international aid to Armenia began we instructed all Aeroflot offices abroad not to take payment for carrying freight or from passengers who had expressed a wish to help the earthquake victims."

Health, Sanitary Measures in Armenia

LD2401163789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jan (TASS)—Special TASS correspondents Aleksey Aguryev and Aleksandr Shchiglenko report:

Implementation of a comprehensive program passed by the USSR Ministry of Health and by the Armenian Council of Ministers will help ensure normal life for the inhabitants of the disaster zone and sanitary, hygienic, and epidemiological well-being, emphasized Levon Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the republican council of ministers. He addressed a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's commission in charge of eliminating the consequences of the Armenian earthquake, held here today and chaired by Yuriy Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Hospitals with 2,435 beds and polyclinics where 4,470 visits per shift can be made have now been set up and are in operation. Two hundred and nineteen medical establishments operate in the populated settlements in the countryside. More than 1,600 doctors and 6,600 auxiliary medical personnel are working in the earthquake zone. Immediate work to ensure the movement of transport in all directions within the disaster zone has now been completed; the Leninakan-Spitak road and 38 bridges and underpasses have been restored. The intercity bus routes from Yerevan to Leninakan, Yerevan to Spitak, and Yerevan to Kirovakan have resumed, as well as all the bus routes between rayons which existed formerly within the earthquake zone.

As a result of the measures which have been taken to restore municipal services in the towns in the disaster zone, water supplies have now been restored in all towns and rayon centers and the water treatment works in Leninakan has started mechanical purification of waste.

Punishments for Azerbaijan Officials Cited

PM2301143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Undated "Report From an Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Session" by T. Aliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee General Department: "Degree of Responsibility"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the progress made in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee 15 December 1988 resolution "On the Illegal Actions of Certain Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR officials."

The bureau session stressed that none of the culprits, irrespective of rank or position, would escape responsibility for the gross violations of constitutional civil rights and incitement which caused feelings to run high and work to be disrupted at enterprises and educational establishments. Party action has been taken against 794 Communists, including 398 leaders; 19 have been expelled from the CPSU. Some 1,849 people have been disciplined, including 252 leaders, and 222 people have been dismissed.

For failing to stop illegal actions which led to the dismissal of working people of Armenian nationality Kh. Mamedov, chairman of the republic State Committee for Statistics, and his deputies, A. Veliyev and M. Gadzhiyev, were removed from their posts and strong party action was taken against them. Cognizance was taken of the fact that Consumer Services Minister B. Aleksenko; Light Industry Minister S. Ibragimov; Yu. Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Sport; A. Karakhanov, general director of the "Azneftemash" science-and-production association; and others had been punished by a decision of the republic Council of Ministers for failing to adopt sufficiently effective measures.

The republic's administrative organs were incapable of preventing the illegal actions. As a result clashes occurred on interethnic grounds. More than 100 component leaders and employees have been dismissed from Internal Affairs Ministry organs for their irresponsible attitude toward their duties and strong disciplinary action has been taken against them. Republic Deputy Internal Affairs Minister K. Mamedov was dismissed from the internal affairs organs and minister A. Mamedov received a strong warning.

Certain leaders of party committees, in particular of Nakhichevan Obkom, Kirovabad and Sheki Gorkoms, and Kedabekskiy Raykom were not equal to the task either and were relieved of their posts.

Failure To Prevent Clashes Charged

LD2301125489 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] In the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in the Transcaucasus some 800 Communists are required to account to the party for failing to do anything to prevent outbursts of enmity between the Azerbaijanians and Armenian people on ethnic grounds. Approximately 400 of them hold high-ranking posts. At a meeting of the bureau of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee it was pointed out that no one regardless of rank or office, will be able to avoid responsibility for crude violation of the constitutional rights of citizens for inciting peole to unlawful actions, which led to undermining the normal work of the factories.

Strict measures have been taken against executives who did not stop the unlawful dismissals of workers of Armenian nationality. Deputy minister for internal affairs of Azerbaijan [position as heard] and some other of the ministry officials have been removed from their posts for proving to be incapable of preventing unlawful actions and allowing clashes on ethnic grounds to take place.

Azerbaijan Meeting Criticizes Rayons on Refugees

LD2201151389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Excerpts] A regular meeting of the Azerbaijan SSR Presidium was held on 20 January. [passage omitted]

The presidium discussed the work of the soviets of people's deputies of Mir-Beshir and Divichi Rayons and their executive committees in the sphere of maintaining the level of the social status of people who had to leave their permanent places of residence in the Armenia SSR and temporarily live in Mir-Beshir and Divichi Rayons. (?Laxity in the work) of the above-mentioned executive committees was mentioned, and it was pointed out that there are shortcomings and faults in settlement and maintaining these people at a comfortable level. [passage omitted]

Volunteers Help Maintain Public Order in Baku

LD2201114689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Jan 89

["Announcement" by the Baku City Special District Lieutenant General Kolesnikov Military Commandant]

[Text] Normal work patterns continue to return to our capital. The situation in work collectives has changed for the better and has made it possible to solve pressing problems through democratization and openness. Responsibility of collectives for solving the vital problems of workers is increasing. People understand that profound changes in all spheres of life are possible only when responsibility and self-discipline are strengthened and expectations for each other increase.

Today the majority of enterprises and work collectives of the city share this view. Positive and practical actions like creating workers' voluntary militia groups to secure order and discipline in enterprises and to maintain normal work in work collectives, (?are taking place). Initiatives are being put forward to create workers' voluntary militia groups in enterprises in Nizami, Kirov, 26 Baku kommissars and oktyabr rayons, in (?Tishna) machine building works, in [name indistinct], Caspian shipping directorate, in [name indistinct] works, and other enterprises.

Furthermore, people's voluntary militia groups and operational Komsomol units are helping the commandant's office and militia bodies secure public order in city rayons. Nearly 3,000 people are participating daily in maintaining public order.

[Signed] Lt Gen Kolesnikov, Baku City Special District military commandant

Transcaucasus Party Chiefs Discuss Restructuring
LD2401145189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] A meeting has been held in Tbilisi between the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia—Patiashvili, Vezirov, and Arutyunyan. They were taking part in a meeting of the party economic activists in the Transcaucasus Military District devoted to measures to eliminate the aftermath of the Armenian earthquake. There was a broad exchange of views on the progress of restructuring in the Transcaucasian republics and of implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

The importance of joint action and coordination of efforts by the three fraternal peoples and their party organizations in the struggle for revolutionary renewal of society was noted. The situation in the region calls for constant attention to the problems of relations between nationalities and for educating the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and of friendship among peoples.

It was resolved to draw up a specific long-term program. Particular importance was given to analyzing the reasons for the complication of the situation in the region. It was noted that enormous efforts to normalize the situation are being made by the CPSU Central Committee and by the Soviet Government. The establishment of a special governing committee for Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which has been welcomed by the working people of the country, is important for a decisive improvement and normalization of the situation in the region.

The leaders of the party organizations of the republics stressed the need for all possible assistance to be given to the actions of the committee.

An important place in the meeting was given to solving the problem of the return of settlers to their native places. The leaders of the republics noted the importance of considerably stepping up the attention given to this issue, which is of key significance for settling the conflict between the nationalities.

The secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Transcaucasus exchanged information on the preparations now underway for the election of USSR people's deputies. They noted that the preelection appeal of the CPSU Central Committee has met with broad support from the Communists and working people of the Transcaucasus.

CPSU Official Says NKAO 'Returning to Normal'
LD2301185189 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Stepanakert January 23 TASS—"Life in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region is gradually returning to normal," the head of a special committee set up to govern the region pointed out in an interview to TASS today.

Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the committee and head of a department in the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said that "the region has inherited a grave legacy. Strikes that continued for months have thwarted plans and generated immense debts of the majority of enterprises.

"Normalising the region's economic life is one of the prime tasks."

Dwelling on principal objectives of the special government committee, Volskiy emphasised that its "activity rests on the profound and sincere faith in the sound forces of the people, people that are hard-working, honest and sincerely interested in the progress of their country and their region."

"In handling economic tasks," he said, "we will orient ourselves at centralised assistance. But, naturally, traditional links with Azerbaijan will be retained. This applies to power engineering, transport and many co-production ventures.

"We will encourage and develop traditional contacts between Nagorno-Karabakh and all parts of the country, especially in culture, education and personnel training."

"But the vital issues of Karabakh's life can only be resolved by the region's population itself. Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Kurds and Russians will have to live here, in Nagorno-Karabakh, together, will work together and will bring up their children together and see to it that they are happy. There is no alternative," Volskiy said.

'Special Situation' To Continue

PM2101190589 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Jan 89 p 3

[Special correspondent V. Knyazev dispatch: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Realities and Hopes"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—By decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the plenary powers of the organs of power in Nagorno-Karabakh have been suspended from 20 January pending new elections. Their functions have been temporarily handed over to the Special Administration Committee.

On the eve of the New Year the first snow fell in Nagorno-Karabakh. It has stayed. People are saying that the winter has come unusually early to these parts this year. The children are especially pleased about the snow. Adults view the arrival of the cold weather in different ways. For transport and municipal service workers it has meant additional problems. Yet many people, including the medical profession, are saying that a winter with snow means fewer ailments.

Nonetheless, the bad weather, though unusual for this region, is not the main topic of conversation. In the family circle, on the streets, in workshops, and in state institutions people are discussing the course of the election campaign and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Introduction of a Special Form of Administration in the Azerbaijan SSR Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast."

The current election campaign is not following the usual course in the country as a whole. However, here in Nagorno-Karabakh there are special nuances. It is no secret that the former leaders of the oblast, including the deputies who represented the interests of NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] in the USSR Supreme Soviet, fell short of the expectations of their people in many respects. I will not list the multitude of problems that have built up here: They were described in detail at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by Deputy A.I. Volskiy, who now heads the special administration committee for the oblast.

The candidates for USSR people's deputy include E. Gukasyan, the oblast chief surgeon; L. Petrosyan, milkmaid on the "Iskra" Sovkhoz; G. Stepanyan, machine operator on the "Kommunizm" Sovkhoz; V. Kocharyan, first secretary of the Askeranskiy party raykom; and others. Some 20 people have already been proposed for the 7 deputy mandates. In short, it will be a case of multiple-choice elections. And what is more, judging by the lively, keen, and scrupulous discussion of the candidacies in collectives, it seems likely that precisely the candidates who are capable of representing people's interests will be elected.

E. Gukasyan, the oblast's chief surgeon, is reckoned to be one of them. There is hardly a person who does not know the doctor. During the days of complex, sometimes tragic events in Nagorno-Karabakh last year, Eduard Ishkhanovich, as a surgeon, came with equal sorrow to the assistance of both Armenians and Azeris.

And I know something else. E. Gukasyan has been offered department chief's jobs in Yerevan's best clinics more than once, yet he gave preference to working in the crumbling hospital in Stepanakert because this was where he was needed most. He now regards the realization of his dream of a new oblast hospital as all but the main object of his life.

Yet at the same time people who by their actions or passiveness destabilized the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh are also being put forward as candidates for deputy. Today it is necessary to discern what aims they pursued, whose interests—the people's or those of a handful of pals—they protected, and who is backing them. These are serious, topical, and painful questions. But they must be answered. This is what makes the election campaign in Nagorno-Karabakh special.

Restructuring was delayed here. Common sense failed to gain the upper hand, and the exacerbation of interethnic strife continued. This was happening while the oblast as a whole was not fulfilling any of the plans for socioeconomic development. This is why the leadership of the country was forced to adopt the decree on the introduction of a special form of administration.

Today most people approve of the adopted measures, of course: "We have been waiting for such a just decision for a long time." There are doubters too: "Will the plans be translated into reality? After all, consistency is what has always been lacking." I have not met anyone who was openly dissatisfied with the decree, but I do not rule out that they, too, exist.

The labor rhythm is stabilizing at most enterprises. People are filled with the desire to make up the losses; they understand that their own and the country's prosperity depends on this. I recall a recent encounter with the collective of the Stepanakert footwear factory. Worker Slavin Khachatryan said: "We are tired of the constant war of nerves; our hands are yearning for some real work. But the equipment is out of commission and falling apart and our suppliers are sending us leather of a revolting quality. Sometimes whole shifts are idle because of shortages of raw and other materials. Tell me, how under these conditions can we prove that we are ready to pay back the debt."

Difficult questions. It is also incomprehensible why freightcars containing food products are left at the local railroad station for a long time without being unloaded, while there is clearly a shortage of food in the stores and while the self-same freightcars are badly needed at the aforementioned footwear factory and other enterprises

to ship out output that has built up. Why in this region, normally so bountiful thanks to its climatic conditions, is it impossible today to buy apples, potatoes, or greens in the market? Why is the fulfillment of the target for building housing for migrants treated with extreme irresponsibility while thousands of families are crammed into local hotels and state institutions, while three pupils sit at desks for two, and while there are two to three children per bed at nurseries and creches. At the same time, 2,500 houses are vacant in the countryside, where labor is needed. Where is the energy and assistance of the council of directors who urged people to go to the square in the fall, but who have fallen silent now? We could do with it now to resolve these questions.

There are fewer servicemen on the streets of Stepanakert now, and less military hardware. Major General A. Kolomiytsev, commandant of the special district, comments:

"The situation in the oblast has largely stabilized. There are no more strikes, rallies, or unrest. The population views the demands of the military commandant's office with understanding on the whole. However, it is not possible to say that there is complete calm. We are still finding people in illegal possession of weapons and explosive devices. From time to time there are calls for strikes. Those who abandoned their homes in haste and now want to fetch their posessions, furniture, and other household articles cannot manage without the assistance of the military either. In short, there are still more than enough problems. Having learned from bitter experience, we will not forget that during the period of the exacerbation of interethnic relations more than 50 people were arrested for malicious violations in Stepanakert alone. More than half the cases have been referred to the court. In the same city 200 families were forced to leave their apartments and houses. There were also casualties in the oblast. We cannot allow this to recur in the future. Therefore, the special situation regime will remain in force. It is another matter that, as the situation in various rayons stabilizes, we are reducing the number of troop patrols and have allowed entertainment events to take place at cultural institutions during daytime," the major general said in conclusion.

Now that the Committee for the Special Administration of the NKAO has been set up, I do not want to return again to the causes that have forced us to resort to this form for the first time in our country's history. A great deal has been written about this, including in our newspaper. Let me just say that as soon as he came down the aircraft ramp, A.I. Volskiy, the committee chairman, immediately got down to his job, saying half-jokingly and half-seriously: "The first document I will sign in my new post will probably be an authorization for a trip to the USSR Gossnab." What is behind this phrase? The socioeconomic distortions that people in Nagorno-Karabakh feel even today.

So, where does the Committee for the Special Administration of the NKAO intend to start its work? I put this question to A.I. Volskiy, the committee's chairman and chief of a CPSU Central Committee Department.

"Our work is new and difficult, and we must learn as we go along," Arkadiy Ivanovich said. "Life has presented us with the opportunity to test the conditions of territorial economic accountability in practice. After all, it is the oblast's population that must now, using its own resources, autonomously resolve the fundamental questions of life, develop production forces at an accelerated rate, and accelerate the reconstruction of enterprises and their switch to new forms of management. In the countryside, leasing relations and family and team contracts are to be widely introduced. In short, in the longer term the oblast is to live by its own profits. At the moment it needs assistance from the center because many ministries and departments that had enterprises in the NKAO sometimes simply forgot about them and made no investments. For this reason the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance are currently introducing a new chapter devoted to the NKAO in the national economic plan and the state budget.

"A new construction base is planned in Nagorno-Karabakh in order to sharply increase the construction of housing, health care, and educational and cultural facilities; build new roads; and stabilize water, gas, and electricity supplies.

"However, this does not mean at all that the oblast will break off all its economic links with Azerbaijan and switch completely to centralized supply. That would be unwise, to say the least. The point, after all, is not where the goods come from, but how they can be delivered more swiftly and cheaply. That is one of the stipulations of economic accountability. We will proceed from it in organizing our economic policy.

"Furthermore, it must be taken into account that more than 40,000 Azeris live in the oblast. They must be able to maintain the closest national links with the republic. The same applies to the repesentatives of the Armenian people in respect to Armenia. And these links must exist not only in the economic sphere, but also in the sphere of culture, education, art, and cadre training. The committee's task is to create all the conditions necessary for the all-around development of both peoples. In turn, the leaderships of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's must do all they can to ensure the normalization of the situation around the NKAO.

"The committee itself operates as a collective organ under the direct leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, and it implements the functions of political, state, and economic management. No enterprise can be established or expanded on the territory of the oblast without prior agreement with the committee. Ahead of

us is a quest for new ways of renewing life in Nagorno-Karabakh. Our main task is to restore the friendship and trust between the two peoples so that, by their joint efforts, they can advance restructuring and pull the oblast out of stagnation."

Uzbekistan President Offers To Resign

LD2301194389 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—The Bureau of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee has satisfied the request of the republic's President Pulat Khabibullayev to resign his post and be transferred to a scientific job, the newspaper IZVESTIYA reported today.

The decision followed an inquiry of critical remarks made by M. Zakhidov, deputy secretary of Tashkent Univertsity's party committee.

Zakhidov, addressing party conferences last November and December, said that Khabibullayev breached party and scientific ethics and abused his office.

The inquiry showed that the facts were on the whole truthful. Khabibullayev admitted he was not modest in his scientific work and critically assessed his own actions.

The issue of Khabibullayev's resignation will be submitted for consideration to an extraordinary session of Uzbekistan's Supreme Soviet (parliament).

Minsk 'Informal' Groups Meet in Vilnius

PM1901091289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[PRAVDA correspondents A. Simurov, A. Ulitenok reports from Minsk and Vilnius under the rubric "We Are Learning Democracy" and the general heading "No Consensus"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The report was extremely brief: "Minsk's informal associations and city authorities failed to arrive at mutual understanding on questions concerning the holding of a mass meeting of 'informals.' They had to make use of an invitation from their neighbors in Lithuania..."

We instructed one correspondent to go to the Lithuanian capital together with the "informals," and another to interview the Minsk authorities.

[A. Simurov report] Minsk—On 2 January this year representatives of independent youth clubs submitted an application to Minsk Gorispolkom. On the basis of the Belorussian SSR Constitution and the Law on the Conduct of Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations, they requested that premises be made available for the holding of a congress of Belorussian independent youth associations. It was proposed that 400 people would take part.

The organizing committee informed the ispolkom that it is planned to use Belorussian national symbols during the congress.

I talked with V. Mikhasev and L. Volodkina, chairman and secretary of Minsk Gorispolkom.

[Simurov] "So it was all according to the law?"

[Interviewee] "Apart from one thing—their application did not contain any suggestions for specific premises. We ourselves, though not without difficulty, found premises. Just for 1 day, it is true—Sunday 15 January. On the Saturday a concert was taking place there, and the tickets had been sold beforehand."

[Simurov] "Was the question of payment for the lease of the premises discussed?"

"Naturally," L. Volodkina reported. "The applicants stated at once that they had R1,000, so there would be no problems over paying for the premises. Although I admit problems did arise later. The House of Culture asked for R1,500 to lease the premises."

[Simurov] "In short, the situation made it possible to submit the question for discussion by the ispolkom and adopt a positive decision."

"Certainly," V. Mikhasev agreed, but he added: "We decided to be entirely democratic. We asked the deputies' commission on socialist law and order to examine the application and make recommendations to the ispolkom. There is a tape of the conference..."

Let me admit at once that what I heard from the loudspeaker in the course of an hour plunged me into despondency. I asked myself: Where am I, what am I listening to? One side, the commission members, speaking in a peremptory, didactic tone, pounced on the "informals" and fired dozens of questions at them.

"Why do you need 2 days? Who is going to deliver the reports? Why did you not give many invitation tickets to the Komsomol Central Committee and Minsk Gorispolkom? How many associations will be invited, and which? What is your program? How many of you are Komsomol members? Who will have the right to vote, and who to be present in a consultative capacity? Who will be responsible if there are violators of public order among the delegates? Are people preparing a program and statutes?"

Yes, I thought, it is all rather like the third degree.

Vladimir Ivanovich laughed it off:

"But, remember, without physical torture..."

[Simurov] "But seriously, how many members of the commission were present?"

"Six," L. Volodkina said.

[Simurov] "And how many on the deputies' commission?"

"Twelve..."

But after a conversation with V. Savichev, chairman of the commission, a militia general and a lawyer by education, explained that there are 32 deputies on the commission. And that it was not a commission session, but simply a talk with lawyers.

[Simurov] "Was any decision made?"

"No, we had no right to make a decision. We voiced our opinion: There are no grounds for banning the meeting," V. Savichev said.

So all the barriers had now been removed for a decision to be adopted? But no: The "most difficult question" was still unresolved. That of the use of Belorussian national symbols. They had stated this request in their application, but the ispolkom members objected categorically.

I tried to clarify what these symbols are. It seems there is a white, red, and white flag, and the "Pursuit" emblem showing a galloping horseman. It was under these symbols that the Belorussian and Lithuanian regiments fought heroically in the battle of Grunwald [in 1412].

[Simurov] "Tell me, are these symbols officially banned?"

[Interviewee, possibly Savichev] "There is no official ban."

[Simurov] "So why not display an extensive exhibition of our state symbols and these other symbols in the foyer of the House of Culture, where it was planned to hold the meeting?"

...Unfortunately nobody thought of that. This point in the applicants' request proved to be an insuperable barrier. One side coldheartedly rubber-stamped the decision, and the other cheerfully climbed into trains and buses and set off for the capital of Lithuania—to hold their meeting on more acceptable terms.

[A. Ulitenok report] Vilnius—On leaving the train in Vilnius I was astonished: It was as if the whole station was speaking Belorussian—you don't hear that in Minsk! I joined a steady stream of 20- to 30-year-olds in festive mood. And here we are—at the Lithuanian republican Agro-Industrial Workers' Palace of Culture.

The scene was decked with national symbols—the same symbols over which, back home in Minsk, passions refuse to die down. It is clear from an information bulletin specially issued for the conference that, foreseeing Minsk Gorispolkom's unhospitable attitude, the organizing committee had asked "Syabryn" beforehand to look for premises. The problem was resolved via "Sajudis."

"In Minsk, they were asking more than R1,000 for a day's hire of the Palace of Culture," S. Vitushka, one of the leaders of the informal group, told me. "That is expensive, and they only offered us the premises for the Sunday. For one thing that is not enough, and for another it is inconvenient—people would not have had time to get home. In Vilnius, they did not ask a single ruble for 2 days! They said: 'It's the people's palace, that means it's ours, and that includes you...'"

What was discussed at the "Vilnius meeting"? In the opinion of Z. Poznyak, chairman of the "Martyrology of Belorussia" historical education society, many of the republic's ideological workers are totally ignorant of the problems that cause keen concern to young people and the intelligentsia. Hence, in particular, their constant expectation of some kind of dirty trick by the informals and their excessive vigilance when it comes to self-evident truths, which has its own effects on the ideologists' prestige and leads to major conflicts.

I talked with Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee representatives M. Masyukov and N. Aleshkovich.

"In 1987 we participated very actively in a similar conference and drew up a concrete program for joint actions with amateur associations on the basis of its results. But today there is a sense that this kind of contact no longer exists... Much of what was planned has been done, no non-glasnost differences, so to speak, arose between us over recent events connected with the now widely known Kuropaty [site of recently discovered mass grave], with memorial day on 30 October, with the formation of the 'Martyrology of Belorussia'... The epithet 'non-glasnost' is not used for no reason: The Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee did virtually nothing to indicate its attitude to what was on everyone's lips, while the Komsomol gorkom, for no reason at all, adopted a course of diktat with regard to the informal groups. And so it went on: The city party and economic aktiv turned up uninvited at one meeting, and a very high tone was adopted at the discussion. As a result, a rift appeared. We realize it must rapidly be 'patched up.'"

Some of the informals spoke of this too. For instance, E. Zhilinskiy, leader of the "greens," not only made complaints against the official authorities in Minsk, but also criticized his own colleagues for being reluctant to make contact with the ecological club attached to the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee science council: "We jib at it, even though they are working for a serious cause. Our own cause, our common cause!"

It was clear that Belorussian young people were interested not in imaginary, invented problems, but in those that really exist in the republic and that require consideration of various social viewpoints and the adoption of jointly formulated decisions. For that reason, in the opinion of a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee spokesman, this discussion would have been far more useful had it taken place in Minsk with the participation of party, soviet, and economic workers.

Those who expected to hear something "overheated" from the speakers were mistaken. Only one speaker grossly overstepped the subtle limit of the tone that is acceptable in debate. He openly descended into public cynicism and a spiteful and apolitical attitude, for which, figuratively speaking, he was swept aside by those with whom he came to Vilnius. There was no "hero." The young people did not accept irresponsible, free and easy moralizing.

Belorussians Comment on Meeting

LD2001121389 Vilnius English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] [chanting, singing in Belorussian] [Presenter] Last weekend Vilnius was the venue for a congress of social and political groups of young people from neighboring Belorussia.

The Belorussian authorities still view the new democractic movements in that republic with distrust. They refused to furnish conditions for the young enthusiasts to hold a meeting in their own country. And that provided an excellent chance for showing an example of true friendship among nations.

Here in Vilnius is a local Belorussian club known as Syabrina which considers itself part of the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sajudis. This club received its compatriots in the Lithuanian capital.

Belorussians have lived in Vilnius for centuries now, accounting for 6 percent of the city's population.

(Oleh Beliavskiy), a young worker from Minsk, one of the sponsors of the meeting:

[Begin (Beliavskiy) recording in Russian, fading into English translation] Our leaders of the Komsomol have, as yet, not attained a sufficiently high level of culture to understand the significance of the mother tongue. Not all the young people in Belorussia can realize how important it is to preserve their native tongue and the national awareness which had suffered a lot in Belorussia lately. Sometimes attempts are made to accuse us of nationalism. During the first meeting which was held in Belorussia we could do nothing but argue with the young functionaries as to whether similar movements were necessary or not. So, here in Vilnius, only the right-minded young men had gathered who are eager to discuss the history of Belorussia and the matters of the Belorussian language. [end recording]

[Presenter] To tell the truth the democratic movements in the Baltic republics are often accused of nationalism too, and separatist aspirations. I enquired (Oleh Beliavskiy) what the young Belorussians thought of the new phenomena in our life.

[Begin (Beliavskiy) recording in Russian, fading into English translation] At first some of the press publications displayed much enmity toward the democratic developments in Lithuania. They even resorted to slander in order to isolate our people from what is going on in your republic. I think that the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sajudis, is a democratic progressive movement bringing a new lease of life for the Lithuanian nation and cherishing hopes for your national rebirth. [end recording]

[Presenter] (Vintsuk Vecharka), a member of the action group of the Belorussian People's Front, turned out to have a perfect command of Lithuanian. He had learned it on his own because he was interested in the Lithuanian culture and traditions. Here is (Vintsuk Vecharka):

[Begin (Vecharka) recording in Lithuanian] We can now say that Lithuania is an example to us of will, morality and progress. [recording in Lithuanian ends; English translation begins] Lithuania today is an example of will, high morality, and progress. The Belorussian nation is undergoing a revival as well. There is no force that could prevent the renovation process, as it cannot be stopped in Lithuania. True, in Belorussia the number of passive people is very large so far, and our main objective is to make those people reason and stir them to action. [end recording]

Estonian Supreme Soviet Adopts Language Law

PM2001140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Language Law Adopted"]

[Text] Tallinn, 18 Jan—The 10th session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, held here today, adopted the Estonian SSR Law on Language.

In accordance with Article 5 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, Estonian is the state language of the Estonian SSR. The status of Estonian as the state language, the law emphasizes, does not infringe the civil rights of those persons whose native tongue is some other language. The law states that the Estonian SSR recognizes the inalienable right of citizens of any nationality to develop their native tongue and culture and the equality of all citizens before the law, regardless of their native tongue.

V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the session's work.

Law Considers 'All Sides'

PM2301151189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Urban report: "Between the Lines of the Law"]

[Text] Tallinn—The 10th Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Session, 11th convocation, adopted a republic law on language by a majority of votes. How did the deputies arrive at this decision? The problem itself has long been urgent, but it has stood out during the conflict period of the development of different social trends and groups. Hard debates on the status of the state language began in Estonia in the fall. The draft law was published in September. It is now called the first draft, since another one appeared in December. The previous one provoked a sharply negative attitude on the part of the Russian-speaking population. And, indeed, the document clearly revealed the haste of its authors and a rather biased attitude to the rights of people of other nationalities.

Have these negative aspects been overcome? Although the law on language has nonetheless been adopted, let us not be in a hurry to draw conclusions.

Following the two previous Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions, which began and ended with noisy rallies in the square in front of the building where the republic parliament sits, everything passed calmly this time. The leaders of various public movements appealed to their supporters not to hold any marches or demonstrations. The voters' will was to be fulfilled by their deputies. But they had received very different mandates; this could clearly be seen at the session. They ranged from mandates proposing a struggle for the first draft to postponement of discussion until a later date.

It has to be said that the deputies were faced with a difficult task. As A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, pointed out in his report, it is necessary to display wisdom—only then can the session's decisions be the basis for consolidation. The session acknowledged that the sphere of application of the Estonian language in the republic is diminishing. It is the task precisely of the new law to halt this process. But, at the same time, it is important not to infringe the rights of citizens speaking other languages.

Next E.A. Sillari, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission, who was elected chairman of the Editorial Commission, took the floor. He reported on the amendments received for the second draft. A proposal was submitted to add the following words to the text: "This law does not govern the use of language in military units." The proposal received the deputies' support.

The leaders of the republic departments which will implement the law's guidelines delivered information reports at the session. There were many problems, but the tone of the speeches was quite optimistic: The opinions of all sides have been taken into account, and the law will provide a basis for removing tension from interethnic relations. True, the report delivered by P. Panfilov, second secretary of the Tallinn Estonian Communist Party Gorkom, did not sound so reassuring. Many party organizations in the city, for example, have a proposal to introduce an amendment on the inadmissibility of discrimination on ethnic grounds. And this, too, should be heeded.

Of course, not all details can be used in legislation. But they were chiefly fundamental problems that were discussed. It is gratifying that account has been taken of the desire to extend the deadlines for representatives of certain professions to master the Estonian and Russian languages. But it is impossible to keep quiet about something else. The local press has published amendments by voters in the city of Narva, generalized by their representatives in the republic Supreme Soviet. In the opinion of many specialists, the amendments are very weighty. It so happens that northeast Estonia has a chiefly Russian-speaking population. And it is quite admissible that they saw the draft as putting definite pressure on their rights. But almost all their proposals have not yet been passed by the Editorial Commission.

Therefore, before the final vote, Deputy V. Kravets asked to speak and submitted a statement by a group of deputies. The essence of the statement is this: The Editorial Commission has taken into account basically the opinion of a single linguistic group of the population, which means that a section of the deputies from Tallinn, Narva, and other cities was unable to defend the interests of its electors, chiefly the Russian-speaking population. We reserve the right, Kravets said, to send our proposals to the USSR Supreme Soviet to be taken into account when drawing up the corresponding all-union legislation.

There has probably never before been such a thing in our parliamentary practice. But the reasons behind this stance of the deputies are understandable. It is their full right to champion their electors' opinions.

In the end, not all deputies agreed that the right of equal development of languages will be guaranteed in the republic. One-fifth of the deputies opposed the law.

Of course, it is impossible to speak of interethnic relations and overlook the language of the indigenous inhabitants. In Estonia this factor has become a real necessity. People here have been the first to approach these problems on the basis of a special law. But have they taken everything into account?

Lithuanian Party Urges Review of Baltic Accords
LD2001132089 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party has urged the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to adopt a special resolution on the 1939-1941 Soviet-German agreements on the Baltic states, giving them their due appraisal.

The foreign policy carried out by Stalin and Molotov in prewar years was crucial to Lithuania.

These statements are among the proposals put forward by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party for the forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on the developments of national issues in the Soviet Union. The proposals will be published in tomorrow's newspapers.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party suggests the documents adopted at the forthcoming plenum to describe the development of all the nations living in the Soviet Union, the foundation of the Soviet Union in 1922, and the specific facts about the Baltic republics joining the Soviet Union in 1940. At present the Lithuanian historians speak about the occupation or annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Up till now the Moscow historians and leading institutes have not changed their evaluations of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

This is the first time that the Lithuanian Communist Party has appealed to review the official point of view. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party proposes to renew the Soviet-Lithuanian agreement. This would be the first step to the really democratic Soviet federation.

Commission Proposes Linguistic Reform in Moldavia
LD2001102089 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Kishinev January 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Dmitriy Chubashenko:

The inter-departmental commission for studying the history and problems of the Moldavian language, active under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia, has moved to make Moldavian the republic's official language, paralleled by Moldavian-Russian and Russian-Moldavian bilinguality, and to ensure the development and free use of the languages of other nationalities inhabiting the territory of Moldavia.

The commission has drawn up these recommendations after many months-long deliberations. It was set up and began its work after some Moldavian intellectuals had publicly expressed concern about the shrinking functions of their native tongue and proposed measures to enhance its status.

The commission, which includes state and public leaders, linguists, writers, historians, publishers and educationalists, is headed by Aleksandr Mokanu, president of the Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet. Reports "on the linguistic and social status of the Moldavian language and the Latin alphabet" were drawn up by the commission's panels. They served as the basis for the foregoing recommendation.

The Moldavian republic is inhabited, alongside with Moldavians (64 per cent), by Ukrainians (14 per cent), Russians (12 per cent), Gagauzians, Bulgarians, Jews and many other peoples. All in all some seventy nationalities are represented in the republic. None of the national tongues should be infringed upon, the recommendation stresses. The document moves at the same time to consider the question of making use of the Latin alphabet, since it is more in keeping with the Romanic origin of the language.

It has been proposed to set up a group, made up of deputies of the republic's supreme soviet, public leaders and experts, to draw up a draft of the new linguistic legislation.

Heated discussion of the linguistic problem continues unabated in Moldavia. Those who come out for raising the status of the Moldavian language stress that this act should by no means infringe upon the rights of other nationalities. It is generally believed, of course, that the highest organ of state power of Moldavia will decide this question on the basis of openness and democracy.

Agro-Industrial Commission Meets in Kiev
AU2401084989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Jan 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Problems Concerning the Social Development of the Countryside"]

[Text] At its first session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Questions of the Agro-Industrial Complex scrutinized the progress made in implementing the comprehensive program approved by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers for the social restructuring of villages in the Ukrainian SSR in the 12th 5-year period and the period up to the year 2000. A report was delivered by Ye. R. Chulakov, chief of the Agrarian Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

At the session it was noted that in the 3 years of the current 5-year period the volume of capital investments from all sources of financing in developing facilities for sociocultural and municipal services increased 1.3 times, compared to the preceding 5-year period. In Poltava and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts, and in a number of rayons of Sumy, Odessa, and some other oblasts farms have accumulated experience in the comprehensive building of villages and in providing the population with fuel, gas,

municipal services, foodstuffs, manufactured goods, and so forth. As a result of this, the number of young people in these areas has increased, labor collectives have stabilized, and production indexes are improving.

Nonetheless, the republic has not undergone a radical shift in settling problems concerning the social restructuring of the village. Through the irresponsibility of some leaders of the republic's ministries and departments, many facilities have not been put into service at the set time, a clear-cut system for the production and supply of materials and equipment has not been created, and retail trade in the latter has not been properly organized. The base of the construction industry has been developing inadequately. The way in which the housing construction combines under the Ukrainian SSR Committee for Agrarian Construction use some of their new facilities has been unsatisfactory. In working out annual plans, a number of oblispolkoms have not taken into account the targets set, curtailed the construction of facilities for social purposes, and been proved to lack firmness in implementing the programs worked out by themselves. Party committees have failed to monitor the progress made in reorganizing villages. There have been serious shortcomings in the social restructuring of the village in Khmelnitskiy, Chernigov, Vinnitsa, Nikolayev, and some other oblasts.

The inhabitants of villages are complaining about problems with fuel, stoppages in the supplies of various goods, and problems in consumer services. In hundreds of villages, the inhabitants still experience considerable inconvenience with regard to water supply, only 5 percent of kolkhoz peasants and sovkhoz workers use natural gas, and nearly 4,500 localities do not have paved access roads.

The urgent task is to increase investments in housing, social, cultural, municipal, and consumer services and road construction in the countryside; to step up activity to connect localities with gas pipeline networks; and to more broadly engage the labor collectives of industrial, transport, and construction organizations in the renewal of the villages.

The commission has submitted proposals concerning the implementation of the comprehensive program for the social restructuring of villages to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for examination.

The session was addressed by I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, secretary, and chairman of the Commission for Questions of the Agro-Industrial Complex.

Ukraine Environment, Nuclear Plants Debated
AU2001110389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Ecology Is a Matter of Priority"]

[Excerpts] Accomplishing the tasks of reducing and preventing environmental pollution and making rational use of natural resources has been constantly at the center of attention of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. Last year the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo thoroughly examined the immediate tasks to improve ecological conditions and radically restructure environmental protection in the republic. Ecological problems were heatedly discussed at a session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet that examined the 1989 plan for the social and economic development of the Ukrainian SSR.

In connection with an appeal by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and the republic's government and population, the USSR Council of Ministers, on the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has set up a special commission to carefully examine the expediency of building the Crimean AES. An experts commission has also been set up under the USSR Council of Ministers to re-examine previous decisions concerning the construction of the South Ukrainian power complex, including an AES and water projects on the southern Bug River. The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers requested union organs to halt construction of the Chigirin AES.

As a RATAU correspondent was told in the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan and State Committee for the Protection of Nature, in the last 3 years a great deal has been done in the republic to improve environmental protection. State capital investments used for this purpose alone totalled R1.3 billion. New facilities have been put into service to purify sewage and harmful industrial waste. A number of steps have been taken to protect and rationally utilize land, mineral deposits, and forests. This has made it possible to reduce the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere by more than 800,000 tonnes and the amount of polluted drainage into surface water reservoirs by 270 million cubic meters. More than 70,000 hectares of depleted [narushennyye] lands, or approximately 25 percent more than targeted, have been recultivated. About 13,000 hectares of forest belts to protect fields have been created, and 50,000 hectares of the bottom of ravines, of sand dunes, and other wastelands have been forested. The area of green zones in cities and other places has been expanded. Some 55,000 hectares of the republic's nature preserves have been taken under state protection. The public has become significantly more involved in the protection of nature.

Nonetheless, the tasks that have been set to protect nature and improve the ecological situation in the republic have thus far not been accomplished quickly enough. One of the main causes of this situation lay in the one-sided, narrow-minded approach adopted by ministries and departments to problems concerning the environment and the utilization of natural resources. The economic organs, frequently with the connivance of local soviets, are responsible for the fact that the targets are not being met. The organizations of the republic's Ministry of Construction, Committee for Agrarian Construction, ministries of land reclamation and water resources,

of housing and municipal services, and others are very slow in building environmental protection facilities. [passage omitted]

However, administrative measures alone are not enough to bring about a radical improvement.

Serious work has to be done to perfect the structure of communal production, to develop and apply low-waste and resource- and power- saving technologies. It is also essential to ensure that economic activity is carried out in strict conformity with ecological requirements, that society's long-term interests in preserving and improving the environment are taken into account in decisionmaking, and that the objective of these decisions is to create good working and living conditions for people.

This is precisely the approach recommended by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers to the republic's ministries and departments, scientists and specialists, and all labor collectives.

Shcherbitskiy Nominated Kiev Candidate Deputy

AU1801165289 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jan 89 p 2

[RATAU report: "Nominating Candidates"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On 13 January, an electoral conference was held at the "Kommunist" production association in Kiev. [passage omitted]

The speakers noted that, in heading the republic's party organization, V.V. Shcherbitskiy had constantly endeavored to develop its economy, science, and culture, and to increase its share in developing the country's single national economic complex. His distinctive features are candor and sensitivity in dealing with people.

The conference participants adopted the decision to nominate Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, as the candidate for USSR people's deputy of the Moskovskiy territorial constituency of the city of Kiev. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary was also nominated candidate deputy at the conference of representatives of the collective of the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

Nominations of 'Public' Candidate Deputies Ends

LD2301230589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] The nomination of USSR candidate deputies from public organizations has come to an end. The atmosphere at the plenums where the contenders were appointed was far from the usual one of unanimity. Each organization had the opportunity of applying its own nomination procedure and there was only one case of prohibition—an infringement of the law. Despite some hiccoughs and misunderstandings, the plenums showed that in electing contenders for the supreme organ of state power, people are not now banking on uniforms and forms; a real selection is underway, not a formal raising of a forest of arms. Active and bright personalities have been nominated, people to whom the destiny of restructuring may be trusted.

Veterans' Council Nominations

PM2001120789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Major V. Kazakov: "According to Lofty Criteria; All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans Plenum Has Been Held To Nominate Candidate People's Deputies of the USSR"]

[Text] Veterans wise through experience, people who have traveled a hard life path, gathered in the small hall, set off by white columns, of the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army. The names of many of these people are covered in nationwide glory. They included Heroes of the Soviet Union A. Maresyev, K. Usenbekov, A. Kazaryan, the renowned kolkhoz chairman from Belorussia Twice Hero of Socialist Labor V. Starovoytov, military leaders, and figures of science and culture. In brief, there was no shortage of fine titles and gold stars in the hall.

Even before the plenum started, the energy and fire with which the delegates debated was obvious as they gathered in small groups at the stands with lists of the candidate USSR people's deputies submitted for discussion.

"You must take into account the fact that this is the first time such a plenum has been held," I was told by Hero of the Soviet Union A. Maresyev. "And it is a serious question which is being decided today: Who is to represent and defend the interests of the country's nearly 50 million veterans and pensioners in the supreme organ of state power."

Created 2 years ago, the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans has received the right to represent its interests in the USSR Supreme Soviet with 75 seats. This large representation undoubtedly attests to the attention and respect which veterans enjoy in our country and emphasizes once again their contribution to the business of restructuring.

The tense election struggle preceding the plenum is graphically borne out by the following figures: Over 3,000 candidates nominated by grassroots organizations joined in the election campaign. After the decisions of union republic plenums their number was reduced to 300 and 116 candidates were submitted to the all-union

plenum, 86 from the union republics, 8 from the all-union council presidium, and 22 so-called self nominations. This situation has complicated the struggle at the concluding stage but at the same time ensured the objectivity of the elections.

During the intermission the chair—Hero of Socialist Labor Kirill Trofimovich Mazurov—described the atmosphere prevailing at the plenum:

"People are inspired by the belief that their words will be heard and, through their elected representatives, become a subject of discussion in the government. And people of the older generation have many problems today and their solution will depend on the energy and efficiency of the candidates nominated today. Everyone understands that."

Indeed, the criteria for assessing candidates when nominating them were high. For instance, Ukrainian candidate A. Lyashko was rejected after failing to gather a majority in the vote.

Virtually not a single candidacy passed without painstaking discussion. The nominees were asked complex and unexpected questions requiring specific answers and knowledge of the local state of affairs, questions which revealed the candidates' personal stance in resolving particular problems. For instance, Latvian SSR candidate V. Kruminyu was asked what his attitude is toward the Popular Front of Latvia. "I have denounced and continue to denounce the extremist activity of some of its leaders," Viktor Mikhaylovich replied. In brief, professional and political qualities were assessed and weighed up without looking at past services, titles, and awards.

As a result of the discussion 76 of the nominated candidates were passed by a majority of votes. They will continue the election struggle for mandates to the supreme organ of state power.

Worker Seeking Nomination Protests

LD2001220089 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Leningrad January 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Pavlov:

A 55-year-old Leningrad factory worker declared on a month-long hunger strike after the council of workers at his enterprise refused to hold a conference to nominate him as a candidate to people's deputies of the USSR.

Gennadiy Bogomolov, who is a laureate of the USSR State Prize, announced the start of his unusual protest today on the steps of the Mariinsky palace, the residence of the City Soviet of People's Deputies.

The well-known Leningrad worker explained that the Council of Workers, an elected body at the firm, Lenpoligrafmash, refused to hold a nomination meeting even though his candidature had been backed by the majority of votes at workshops and departments.

In keeping with the law of the USSR on elections of people's deputies, this body of workers' self-management has the right to decide whether to nominate one or another candidate.

The milling machine operator, who is also the author of numerous inventions, told Soviet and foreign press representatives that "The Council of Workers acted under pressure from the Party Committee at the factory and the District Party Committee" with which he had held "a long- standing and principled conflict of views on methods of restructuring economy and the system of payment."

The action on Leningrad's St. Isaac's Square did attract broad attention, but the attitude towards it is far from unanimous.

Many people believe that the worker's "principledness" has exceeded the sensible framework of democratism and glasnost that characterise the first campaign of choosing candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Scenes From Korotich Nomination

PM2001103089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Stepovoy report: "How It Happened, or an Invalid Voters' Meeting"]

[Text] When I heard that Vitaliy Korotich had consented to be nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy for Sverdlovskiy No 21 Electoral Okrug in Moscow, I could not help wondering: Why? After all, by that time he had already been proposed as a candidate by several social organizations and labor collectives... I went to the meeting regretting that I could not vote for V. Korotich—poet, public figure, colleague (though a chief editor), and, lastly, a fellow countryman. But, without concealing my sympathies, let me try to be objective. I will only recount what I saw and heard for myself.

...I arrived at the PRAVDA Publishing House Culture Institute about 40 minutes before the start of the meeting. By that time the foyer was already full of people. For some reason, many were crowding around the doors. People with red armbands were explaining to them that this is not a professional meeting with Vitaliy Korotich, but a voters' meeting. Therefore places in the stalls are reserved first and foremost for inhabitants of Dzerzhinskiy and Sverdlovskiy Rayons. All those who so wish will be allowed to enter the auditorium, when the voters arriving have been registered.

I went up to the desks where registration was taking place. Each voter received a mandate and three different-colored squares (it was promised that their purpose would be explained during the meeting) only after presenting his passport. I inquired who was checking the voters' credentials: Behind each desk records were being kept by representatives of an enterprise group as well as members of the okrug electoral commission and workers from the rayispolkoms. It was all in order, so to speak.

I elbowed my way through to the door of the auditorium along the narrow passage formed by people eager to get into the meeting. At that moment the balcony door was opened for them. I happened to see carefully folded rolls of paper in the hands of the hurrying figures.

At 1900 hours precisely S. Ryaskov, deputy chairman of Sverdlovskiy Rayispolkom, asked those present for their opinion:

"In accordance with the law, 500 voters have to be present to make the meeting valid. At present there is no quorum. What do you propose?"

Voices from the auditorium:

"Let's wait!"

"Fine," S. Ryaskov agreed. "We will wait another 30 minutes..."

The pause allowed me to examine the auditorium carefully. V. Korotich was signing autographs two rows below me. People usually approached him carrying a copy of OGONEK. Numerous photographers and cameramen were wasting no time; they were recording the events.

The 30 minutes elapsed. L. Gordeyev, chairman of the okrug electoral commission, took the stage. He said:

"The time stipulated has elapsed. A total of 373 voters have now been registered. In accordance with Article 37 of the Law on Elections, I declare the meeting invalid."

You can understand the disappointment of the supporters of the possible candidate, but the law is the law. And we should become accustomed to its strict fulfillment. Even if at the time we feel some dissatisfaction or if it is contrary to our ideas of justice.

That could have been the end of the matter: The meeting was formally closed before it had opened. But...

Suddenly a shrill command rang out from above, and home-made posters were turned toward the auditorium from the balcony, among which "Korotich—foreman of the scum of restructuring" and "No confidence in the vanguard of the 'gutter press'" were the most decent. But OGONEK has already shown many of them in its issue No 3.

The organizers tried to take control of the situation. They thanked those who had come to the meeting. Then they announced that a professional meeting with Vitaliy Korotich would take place.

The balcony responded with whistling, hooting, and stamping of feet.

Then the organizers of the meeting finally went to pieces. And they could think of nothing better to do than to start accusing one another publicly, at the microphone, of blunders as a result of which 500 voters did not gather this evening... While these explanations were going on, in some places matters almost reached the point of "assault and battery," and the microphones installed in the auditorium were surrounded by groups of people whose unity was emphasized by their badges showing St George. They were telling the whole auditorium:

"The people don't need Korotich!"
"Unmask the opportunist!"
"Shame on the alcoholizers of Russia!"

The organizers of the meeting tried to seize the microphones:

"This is a provocation by the 'Pamyat' society!"
"Korotich is a man of great civil courage..."

But the gallery went on chanting:

"Out! Out!"

As time went on the frenzy increased among the group of people with badges, which, as one of the wearers explained to me in passing, shows allegiance to the supporters of "Pamyat." And they themselves rapidly revealed their "allegiance" by beginning to shout anti-Semitic slogans and insults.

It would hardly have been worth describing an invalid election meeting in such detail, were it not for one thing. I entirely agree with V. Chernov's words in his notes on this meeting (OGONEK No 3), where he said: "You cannot be a dilettante in politics. Politics does not consist of pleasant meetings with readers or writers"... But for the sake of the truth, I must clarify certian aspects. It could be concluded from a letter from four authors that is published in the magazine that the meeting was disrupted exclusively by "Pamyat" representatives, who tried to start a hand-to-hand fight with those present although the required 500 voters had not yet assembled in the auditorium. Having been present in the auditorium, I can say that this is substantially inaccurate.

The troublemakers carried out their action, which was most likely planned beforehand, only when the meeting had been declared invalid, and they did not disrupt the meeting, but only an evening with Vitaliy Korotich which had not been announced beforehand. Unfortunately the

remarks by participants in the meeting cited by the magazine do not correct this inaccuracy. Moreover this distorted report has already sped around the globe.

The next day I went to a session of the Sverdlovsk No 21 Electoral Okrug commission. Its members analyzed thoroughly and objectively everything that had happened. And they came to the conclusion that the enterprise groups planning to nominate V. Korotich as a candidate USSR people's deputy had not taken the election meeting seriously enough. They had evidently assumed that the popularity of OGONEK's chief editor would make up for all the organization's shortcomings. True, the auditorium, which seats 800, was indeed almost full, but less than half of those present were residents of Dzerzhinskiy and Sverdlovskiy Rayons... So mistakes were made in informing the population; perhaps a bad time was chosen and some of the voters were still on their way home from work.

V. Chekanova, chief of Sverdlovskiy Rayispolkom Organizational and Instruction Department, observed that the members of the enterprise groups had refused the help they were offered.

And another blunder. Or rather, a failure to understand the very important fact that the patent unpreparedness of those initiating the nomination of V. Korotich as candidate, which in effect created the conflict situation and the consequent ballyhoo, strikes not at the possible candidate, but first and foremost at the cause they were intending to uphold: the processes of democratization, and indeed restructuring itself.

The discussion of what had happened took place in a calm atmosphere. No lectures or reprimands. Well, we are all learning. Learning, among other things, not to come to blows unnecessarily and not to trip over our own feet.

I think it would be useful for all of us to learn these lessons. After all, the election campaign is still only gathering speed. And clearly some people are charging into the political arena literally with fists flying. Let us be ready to rebuff them. But by other, democratic means.

One last thing. To check the details again, I called the okrug electoral commission. I was told that the enterprise groups had again submitted a request to the rayispolkoms for permission to hold a similar meeting. Why? After all, as OGONEK has reported, V. Korotich has already been nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy (by, among others, the journal's collective, let me add)...

"Well, there is no law against it," the electoral commission told me. "After that it is up to the citizen seeking nomination to decide for himself what to do in a given situation."

Academician on Deputies' New Rights

LD2301111889 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Ashkhabad January 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Prikhodko:

"It is very important that people's deputies will henceforth be able to exert real influence on the ministries, that is to strive for concrete decisons and to control their execution", TASS correspondent was told by Agadzhan Babayev, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This 60-year-old director of the country's only deserts institute under the Academy of Sciences of Turkmenia (a Soviet Central Asian republic) has been a people's deputy for 15 years, but it is only now, after the adoption of the new elections law, that he has regained confidence, he says, in the effectiveness of this work. Development of science, he believes, was throttled noticeably by the reign of bureaucrats.

In the past few years, for instance, Turkmenian scientists had issued some 100 important production recommendations, but the leaders of individual branches of economy had dragged out their implementation with absolute impunity.

Development of this or that region or branch of economy will from now on be the duty of groups of deputies. "The deputies are able now, for instance, to raise the question of providing the republic with its own badly needed textile mills, since 90 per cent of the cotton grown here is processed in other parts of the country. Other enterprises, for instance those that produce mineral fertilizers, could probably be closed. Of course, creation of a mechanism for such management is a new and quite difficult task. But herein lies the courage of our party, which relies on the creativity of the popular masses", the scientist says.

In Babayev's opinion, every republic should strive to make fuller use of its natural and economic potential. The wealth of Turkmenia is quite unique. But sometimes it disappears like water into the Karakum sands. Out of the 84 thousand million cubic metres of gas extracted in the Turkmenia, for example, only six thousand million are consumed locally. But the republic receives nothing in compensation for the rest of it. The republic should be more independent, the scientist believes, in deciding how to make proper use of its wealth. These and other questions of national importance are now within the competence of deputy groups. Therefore, Babayev notes, we can only wecome the fact that the duration of Supreme Soviet sessions has been increased substantially. The supreme organ of state power will henceforth meet in session twice annually—in Spring and in Autumn. The sessions will last, as a rule, from three to four months. This will allow the deputies to delve deeper into the matters in hand, to discuss them more thoroughly.

New Adyge Obkom First Secretary Elected 18 Jan

PM2001120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Maykop, 18 Jan—An Adyge party obkom plenum was held today to examine an organizational question. The plenum elected A.A. Dzharimov, who was working as a secretary of Krasnodar party kraykom, to the post of first secretary of the Adyge CPSU Obkom.

USSR, Republics Powers Delimitation Group Meets

PM1801143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Working Group Session"]

[Text] A session of the working group preparing proposals on the delimitation of the powers of the USSR and the republics that was formed by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution in accordance with the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 1 December 1988 "On Further Steps To Implement Political Reform in The Sphere of State Building" was held 17 January in the Kremlin.

Its leader G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, moderated the group session.

The working group, which includes USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing all the union republics, examined questions linked with the organization of its work. The session pointed out that the powers of the USSR and the republics should be delimited in such a direction as to to guarantee more fully the republics' political and socioeconomic interests, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and maximum consideration for the tasks of the further development of the entire country. Proposals coming in from the union republics, scientists, and specialists will be examined attentively here.

The deputies advocated broadening the union republics' rights, while retaining a strong center, and removing excessive centralization in the leadership of the economy and social issues. The importance of transferring the union republics to economic accountability [khozraschet] within the framework of the country's unified economic complex was stressed. Problems linked with determining the status of the union republics language and a number of other questions were also touched on.

The next session of the working group is scheduled to be held in the first half of February.

AUCCTU Plenum Convenes in Moscow 18 Jan

PM2001123989 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Jan 89 p 1

["Information Report on AUCCTU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Fourth AUCCTU Central Committee Plenum began its work in Moscow yesterday.

Questions "On the Nomination of Candidates for USSR People's Deputy from USSR Trade Unions," "On Soviet Trade Unions' Election Platform, and "On the Timetable and Procedure for Conducting the Election of USSR People's Deputies from USSR Trade Unions" were submitted for examination by the plenum. A report on these questions was delievered by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev.

The plenum participants were given the opportunity to study in advance the proposals for nominating candidate people's deputies from USSR trade unions, the Soviet trade unions' draft election platform, and an information report on the AUCCTU's work since the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: G.I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Trade Union Council; M.V. Ikharlova, chairman of the Textile and Light Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee; S.T. Melekhin, operator in the large-section shop of the Nizhniy Tagil V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine; S.S. Yevtushenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Republic Trade Union Council; O.K.-S. Adamanov, secretary of the Uzbek Republic Trade Union Council; M.A. Srebniy, chairman of the Coal Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee; S.V. Strelnikov, chairman of the Murmansk Oblast Trade Union Council; L.I. Novak, chairman of the Medical Workers Trade Union Central Committee; and N.I. Zinovyev, chairman of the Heavy Machine Building Workers Trade Union Central Committee.

The plenum participants discussed the candidates recommended by trade union councils and Central Committees for nomination as candidates for USSR people's deputy from USSR trade unions. More than 60 people took part in the discussion. Many of those whose nominations were examined were questioned and asked to talk about their own attitude to restructuring and the actual results of their work.

The plenum nominated 114 candidates for USSR people's deputy from USSR trade unions. In accordance with set procedure, they will be presented for registration to the Electoral Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies From USSR Trade Unions.

The plenum adopted a Resolution "On the Timetable and Procedure for Conducting the Election of USSR People's Deputies From USSR Trade Unions."

The following took part in the plenum's work: V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, and V.G. Fedorov, section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Department for Party Building and Cadre Work.

The AUCCTU plenum will be continuing its work today.

Zaykov Addresses War, Labor Veterans 11 January
PM2001164589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 89 p 1

[Unnamed MOSTASS correspondent report: "Veterans in the Ranks of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Party, war, and labor veterans are one of our society's major assets. Their knowledge and staunch faith are especially necessary at the stage of restructuring, when the CPSU and the Soviet people are solving the historic tasks of revolutionary renewal. The 2-million-strong detachment of veterans in the capital is making a weighty contribution to the work of the city party organization and Moscow's labor collectives.

This was emphasized at the 11 January meeting between Moscow CPSU Gorkom secretaries, representatives of the Moscow City Council of War and Labor Veterans, and members of the rayon and primary councils aktiv.

The meeting was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. We are very pleased to meet representatives of the veterans' movement, he said. Our meeting is taking place on the eve of a memorable event—the 27th conference of the Moscow city party organization will be held in a few days' time.

This is our first meeting with Muscovite war and labor veterans. Other meetings with Moscow's Communists, working people, and residents took place during the report and election campaign. The city's party organizations and labor collectives were visited by members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and leaders of the USSR Council of Ministers and a number of ministries and departments.

The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Moscow city party organization aktiv, which was held a few days ago, will certainly help us to conduct a more extensive and constructive discussion at the forthcoming city party conference and to better coordinate the actions of party organizations to fulfill the tasks facing us. This meeting gave us all a new impetus to improve organizational and political education work by the city's party committees and soviet organs.

L.N. Zaykov told the meeting participants about the progress of restructuring within the capital's party organization, the basic avenues of political reforms, and the city's socioeconomic development.

A detailed and at times sharp conversation about the tasks facing the capital's Communists and working people and the ways to utilize veterans' invaluable experience for their solution lasted several hours. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov delivered a speech to the meeting participants.

Today, he said, we had an opportunity to see for ourselves yet again that party, war, and labor veterans are in the ranks of restructuring. Your experience, knowledge, and staunch faith in the correctness of the cause are especially necessary now, when we are solving tasks of historic importance. We have great respect for your work and are grateful for it.

Veterans' organizations are in many respects the mainstay of party raykoms and primary party organizations in their ideological and political and mass cultural work, primarily among the population. There are almost 350 clubs and lecture groups for veterans at enterprises and in places of residence, and their activity plays a by no means insignificant role here. Your work on the military-patriotic, international, and moral education of young people is especially valuable. It must be further developed.

We give due credit to Communists working as members of elected party organs (more than 22,000 veterans have been elected to party committees and bureaus). You engage in fruitful activity in soviets and self-management organs at places of residence.

Many of you are directly engaged in production work. One in every three of the 2 million pensioners in the city still works in production—there are 75,000 experienced mentors helping the vocational and civic development of young workers. You also make a weighty contribution to the city's socioeconomic development.

The tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference are great and exceptionally responsible.

What are the priorities singled out by the city party organization in this regard? This year we have to significantly expand the breathing space for economic methods of management. The point is this: If we assimilate the new methods of economic management, our results will be more tangible and real changes in people's thinking and mood will occur much more swiftly.

The party gorkom, jointly with the Moscow Gorispolkom, is seeking a comprehensive solution to the problems of the city's socioeconomic development. This was the approach adopted during the elaboration and implementation of the "Progress-95" Territorial-Sectorial Program.

Measures were elaborated and are being implemented to expand the autonomy of rayispolkoms and enhance their responsibility for the socioeconomic development of rayon territories. All this is backed by radical restructuring of the national economy's management scheme. The management mechanism is now less cumbersome and therefore more flexible.

One of the party gorkom's main concerns is to orient the economy toward man's needs. The neglect of the social sphere has an effect everywhere, one could say. Nevertheless, a breakthrough is on the way in this sphere. Last year alone the city commissioned 50,000 apartments, and it is planned to construct about 60,000 this year.

Attention is also focused on questions concerning the implementation of the Food Program and the production of consumer goods. This is the most important problem now. Principled decisions have been made on this count. State orders have been introduced from this year for the manufacture of cheap goods in demand among the population, especially the elderly. Supplements to wholesale prices have been introduced. Order is being introduced in the application of contract prices for new products.

We in Moscow are embarking on the construction of new enterprises for the bakery and the meat and dairy industries. Existing capacities are being reconstructed and retooled. The Central Committee Politburo backed the party gorkom's proposal to create an integrated system for the supply of foodstuffs to Moscow and Moscow Oblast. CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions have been adopted on many key questions of the development of Moscow's national economic complex and social sphere.

In this context, we have paid more attention to the needs of the older generation, the war and labor veterans. They represent a sizeable proportion of Muscovites and need constant concern.

A draft law on pensions is now being drafted and will be published for nationwide discussion. The adoption of this law will help to improve pensioners' living standards.

Much is being done to improve housing conditions and medical and trade services, which are especially important for you. Moscow has developed the form of home services provided by social assistance departments for invalids and elderly people living alone who need constant care. The Moscow Komsomol Gorkom founded the "Charity" Society, and two territorial social services centers have opened, offering facilities for permanent, temporary, or day care. This work is now being stepped up in all of the city's rayons. Many of you have the benefit of free transportation passes and food orders. There are privileges in the acquisition of cars.

Additional measures have been adopted for the construction and commissioning of a number of facilities for social and cultural purposes. The Moscow City Invalids' Society was created for the purpose of ensuring a more comprehensive and better organized solution of all vitally important problems.

But we still owe a lot to you. An analysis of the state of affairs shows the existence of serious shortcomings in the organization of medical, cultural, consumer service, and other types of social services for war and labor veterans. Meetings and conversations, including today's, prove that the greatest dissatisfaction is caused by the poor organization of sponsorship assistance by enterprises and institutions where you formerly worked, and by party, Komsomol, and other public organizations, including veterans' councils in a number of the capital's rayons.

Far from all veterans and invalids are satisfied with their housing conditions. Yes, the housing problem is complex. But all too often it is caused by indifference and unwillingness to look into people's plight. There are numerous complaints about medical and pharmaceutical services. The construction of a hospital for Patriotic War veterans and invalids is dragging on.

There are plenty of problems, but the veterans themselves can also do a few things. Let us take an honest and blunt look. Life itself proves that veterans' organizations make far from full use of their rights and potential and are slow in restructuring their work.

Veterans' councils must sort this out, they must discover the causes of their comrades' passiveness and help them find their position in socially useful activity in the city and rayons.

We are confident that veterans will manage to make their weighty contribution to restructuring, to the renewal of all aspects of the capital's life. You have broad scope for action in the solution of questions concerning organizational and political work at places of residence, the improvement of communal areas, and the better maintenance of the housing stock.

Unfortunately, your knowledge is still inadequately utilized in such a promising avenue of Moscow's socioeconomic development as the cooperative movement and individual labor activity, and even directly in production. There can be no substitute for your work on the education of the growing generation and the transmission of your rich political experience and experience of life to the Komsomol and all young people.

In other words, there is more than enough work to be done. Your knowledge, experience, and practical skills will be extremely useful to society.

L.N. Zaykov answered numerous questions from veterans.

Taking part in the meeting were Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretaries N.M. Andreyanova, V.K. Belyaninov, Yu.S. Karabasov, V.I. Kuznetsov, and Yu.A. Prokofyev; A.I. Golyakov, first deputy chairman of the All-Union War and Labor Veterans Council; and D.I. Karabanov, deputy chairman of the All-Russia War and Labor Veterans Council.

Deputy Minister Comments on Tashkent Rioting

PM1901171289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 15 Jan 89 p 13

[Valeriy Niyazmatov dispatch: "Clash in Tashkent"]

[Text] Tashkent—"On January 1, Afghans studying in Tashkent staged a riot near a collective farm market. Under the influence of drugs and alcohol, the hooligans threw stones at automobiles and passersby. In the melee, a six- month-old baby was killed while eight Soviet citizens and 11 Afghans were injured and had to be hospitalized.

"The riot was stopped by the militia and local residents. The situation is under control. The violators of Soviet laws and moral norms will be punished."

This announcement by the Uzbek Telegraph Agency, published throughout the local press three days after the riot, wasn't quite sincere. Small wonder that rumours started circulating in Tashkent. In the metro and trolleybuses, "eyewitnesses" talked about a drawn-out shootout that left dozens of Soviet and Afghan citizens dead.

What really happened? Col.-Gen. Vasiliy Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, now in Tashkent, said:

"First there was a conflict between Afghans, students in the short courses, and Tashkent residents. Both sides' dissatisfaction with petty market deals triggered the riots on January 1."

[Niyazmatov] What short courses are you referring to?

[Trushin] Over 3,000 Afghans are studying at various educational establishments in Tashkent—higher schools, secondary specialized schools and at courses. In keeping with the inter-governmental agreement, Tashkent organized two-month courses for advanced training of Zharandoya, the Afghan militia. On January 1, some of these Afghan students were spending their day off in the city. Many went sightseeing, others went to the market, to the restaurant there.

[Niyazmatov] You mean there was an ordinary fight at the market?

[Trushin] Yes, and it was stopped by militiamen. The Afghans were bused to their place of study. Some students started riots there, drawing in 1,000 more Afghans. They blocked the ring road near the courses, threw stones at automobiles and set fire to others. As a result, 31 Soviet people, including ten militiamen, were injured while four cars were destroyed and 27 cars, 20 of them privately owned, were damaged. Fourteen Afghan students were injured. One of them died through his own carelessness: He jumped at a truck which was going full speed. Three Soviet people also died. The riots went on for some three hours. Some students attempted to get weapons from a military unit near the courses.

[Niyazmatov] Were weapons used to restore order?

[Trushin] No. The riots were stopped by 10 p.m. The next day life at the courses was normal.

[Niyazmatov] What measures are being taken with those who violated the law?

[Trushin] The republic's procurator's office has opened a criminal case and is investigating. Persons who committed illegal acts have already been sent back to Afghanistan, but the organizers and active participants will be tried in court. The Afghan leadership was greatly dismayed to learn of the riot. President Najibullah dispatched a group of executives from the MIA [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the Republic of Afghanistan led by Minister Watanjar, to Tashkent on January 2. On the president's behalf, Watanjar expressed condolences to Uzbekistan's government, to those who were injured and to the relatives of those who died. He said everything possible would be done to prevent another such occurrence and that those Afghan citizens who took part in the rioting would be punished.

[Niyazmatov] Who'll compensate for the material damage caused to Soviet citizens?

[Trushin] The Uzbek government, as far as I know.

[Niyazmatov] Have the organizers of the riot been named?

[Trushin] The investigation is proceeding. The measure of guilt of each participant in this conflict will be established. Today the evidence suggests that the fight in the market was initiated by the Afghans, some of whom were intoxicated and on drugs.

[Niyazmatov] What about the Soviet participants in the conflict?

[Trushin] We have no information.

We are not pleased with the teachers of the courses: The students' free time was not properly organized. Some of them are engaged in deals at the market. [Trushin ends]

I asked several Afghan students to comment.

Mohammad Ulla, a private:

"Not only I, a member of the PDPA, but my friends are also feeling very bad about what happened and regard it as a crime. I assess the activities of my co-citizens as private:

"Dozens of Western radio stations broadcast to Afghanistan every day. As we can see, this propaganda is not in vain. When the riot organizers began screaming—'20 Afghans were killed at the market, let them be given to us,'—it became clear that this was not just a drunken free-for-all. Not all the students got caught in this plot. Many of them defended the Soviet staffers at the courses, protecting them from the mad thugs."

I talked with other students. Some thought that what happened at the market was a drunken brawl among hooligans from both sides. Some said that the further development of events was not without organizers. But everyone I talked to stressed that this sad conflict would not shake the bulwarks of our friendship.

Nikonov Addresses Forestry Meeting 17 January
LD1701193189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] What will our forests be like in the 21st century? What should we be doing for them now? The answers to these questions are provided by the guidelines for the development of the country's forestry industry up to 2005, which were scrutinized at a session of the State Forestry Committee in Moscow today. The document is founded on new approaches to the industry's problems, and calls for economic restructuring, a decisive break with expenditure- based methods and the creation of economic mechanisms to ensure that labor collectives have an interest in working efficiently at regenerating forest resources and making comprehensive and rational use of them.

The session was addressed by Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

MVD Head Bakatin Interviewed on 'Law and Order'
PM1901163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin conducted by PRAVDA correspondent A. Chernenko: "The Law's Duty Is To Protect"; date, place unspecified]

[Text] [Chernenko] If all the "cops and robbers" items which are strewn over the back pages of both local and central newspapers, and with which television and radio broadcasts are sprinkled, were to be summed up, then quite valid alarm emerges, at least at the everyday level of awareness. Not all is well as regards the state of law and order on our urban and rural streets: there are various signs to suggest that organized crime exists; elements of a comingling of various criminal groups and representatives of the law enforcement organs undoubtedly exist.

After the 27th [First Edition had "22d"] CPSU Congress the leadership of the MVD steered a course toward maximum glasnost. This immediately had an impact on the process of the improvement of the system. But the flaws of the stagnation period have proved to be extremely serious...

[Bakatin] We rightly speak of the fact that very serious changes are taking place in the country. The positive processes of the restructuring in the economy and in politics are underway. Democratization and glasnost are two levers with which the party is raising both itself and society and removing the heavy burden of overcentralization; these two levers are emancipating people. Society has gotten moving. The complex and sometimes painful processes of self-cleansing and of the growth of civic and national self-awareness are under way.

Now, this alarm of which you have spoken... Much as I would like to put yours and the readers' minds at rest, I have no right to do so.

Although the statistics are still very much incomplete, it is clear however, even without them, that the crime rate in 1988 increased steadily and rapidly month by month. And as a result the growth in the crime rate at criminal investigation level amounted to 16.9 percent. The incidence of theft, robbery with violence, and larceny of personal property has increased by more than one-third. The highest rate of crime occurs in the Latvian, Estonian, and Moldavian SSR's, the Tuva and North Osetian ASSR's, Kurgan, Irkutsk, and Rostov Oblasts, and Maritime Kray.

The overall situation which engenders crime has deteriorated sharply. We could have a whole separate discussion about the causes. But first of all it is necessary to recognize that under conditions of democratization, dynamism, openness, and humanization, the militia has proved to be unprepared for rapid reaction. Many workers for various reasons have been unable to assume responsibility and display initiative, to take risks, and they have simply lost their heads. And our staffers are writing about this. Here is an excerpt from a letter from the Communists and Komsomol members of the Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, Kishinev city: "The entire militia is now paralyzed in some sort of expectation, as if at a crossroads, struck by a deadly virus." This is, of course, put rather strongly, but people have probably expressed their feelings.

Meanwhile, the totality of sundry secondary and side effects, contradictory trends, phenomena, and groups either siding up to the political line of restructuring or opposing it, intensify further still the need to galvanize the MVD's activity. You know how much manpower was sent on secondment from virtually all of our country's republics and oblasts to Armenia and Azerbaijan to contain the bloodshed launched by irresponsible people who are not in the least squeamish about whipping up nationalism and national enmity for the sake of their selfish ambitions and mercenary goals.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that, over the last 3 years, the unquestionably correct line toward humanization of judicial practice has resulted in a sharp fall of the number of detainees in colonies. This process is still going on. And this is good. But, in the conditions of deepening economic accountability, those released from detention encounter difficulties in finding work where their families live and come up against callous attitudes. Consequently, there has been no decline in those reoffending.

The rapid development of cooperatives creates a totally new environment which is inadequately protected against encroachments by criminals. Speculation has spread on a wide scale. Legislative work and the law enforcement system are also lagging in this regard.

On the whole, the criminal world is consolidating itself, organizing itself, and acting more and more brazenly. Attacks on militiamen have become more frequent. Street crime has increased by almost 40 percent.

It is obvious that the militia is not the prime cause of rising crime, but our system does have many shortcomings and problems of a purely internal nature. There is no doubt that the "flaws which arose during the stagnation period" are serious.

By virtue of the MVD's specific position within the system of state management, the flaws and shortcomings of the stagnation policy had a grave effect on this ministry. But flaws within the MVD system cannot but reflect the flaws of society as a whole. The rose-colored glasses have long since been removed. The party demands that the truth be told. Varnishers of the truth have departed from politics never to return. We have in the MVD system everything that is to be found everywhere else: bribery, treachery, bureaucratism, callousness, rudeness, lack of departmental coordination, and illegality. More in some places than in others. We cannot get rid of these vices by ourselves. The path of salvation is the same for all—the path of restructuring. But there are also differences. The militia must be healed more swiftly, it must be honest and strong. This is because we have been assigned the task of protecting the country's citizens against illegality and crime and of safeguarding public order and security—while being professionally irreproachable, polite, strict, and fair under the law. We have no time to waste.

[Chernenko] Over the last 12-18 months PRAVDA has given enough attention to the problems accumulated within the USSR MVD system. Among them is the problem of the declining prestige of professions like that of criminal investigators. There is no point in concealing the fact that, during the years of stagnation, a significant number of people were extremely keen to serve in the State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate or the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Service. On being appointed minister, your predecessor launched serious work on the consolidation of this key link...

[Bakatin] I recently had a meeting with a large group of criminal investigators. Criminal investigation really represents the militia's main operational force. The bulk of crime, up to 70 percent, falls within the sphere of its immediate competence. But professionalism has clearly been lost in criminal investigation. Great damage has been done to cadres and the service's prestige. At present only 46 percent of staffers have a higher education, and every second staffer has less than 3 years of service. The good work on raising precinct staff salaries has unfortunately boosted the movement of cadres. Previously the best precinct staff were selected for criminal investigation work, but now criminal investigation operators are only too keen to transfer to precinct work. Yes, we do have a problem. We will continue to work on its solution.

[Chernenko] Events in Chernobyl and the Transcaucasus and a whole series of emergencies have proved that certain MVD subdivisions are the most mobile at the time of catastrophe, tragedy, and other major ordeals. Not a single day passes without reports of heroic deeds committed by militia staffers, the firefighting service, or the Internal Troops, or about the death of their valiant fighters. On the other side of the scales you have reports about individual officials' degeneration, their boorishness, and so on. Where are we going wrong in cadres policy? How is it to be brought in line with the restructuring processes?

[Bakatin] This is a most serious question: How should cadres, who constantly have to have dealings with the criminal world and with deviations from normal human relations, be immunized against degeneration? How should they be prevented from becoming hardened, how does one prevent them losing their humaneness, their sense of fairness, their respect for and trust in people, how does one prevent them turning into boors who "wield power" and pursue selfish mercenary interests? But let me make this clear: Very, very many people who have chosen this hard service are honestly performing their duty regardless of everything. They rise above everything: The cruelty of the criminal world, the consumerist indifference. Last year 619 staffers were decorated with combat awards for courage and heroism, and 269 of them were awarded the Order of the Red Star. Very many of them, posthumously...

In view of this, instances of treachery by, and degeneration of, individual staffers are that much more disgraceful and intolerable. It must be said that leaders of all ranks are still timid and indecisive in their cleansing work, often making do with reprimands. This work must be considerably stepped up.

New regulations have been drawn up for service in the MVD organs. The program for militiamen's initial training will be revised. Following wage increases for rank-and-file and junior leadership militia staff, the procedure for competitive selection of cadres could become widespread. Such an experiment is already under way in Georgia, the Ukraine, and Moscow Oblast.

[Chernenko] What is your attitude toward the idea, expressed last year, about a rural precinct officer's accountability not only to the rayon department but also to the village assembly? And of a city precinct officer's to a microrayon's residents? And toward public monitoring in general?

[Bakatin] In many places, the public and the population already participate directly in the certification of staffers from certain services (precincts, State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate, and so on). In my view, it is time to really start treating public monitoring as a necessity of which everyone is well aware. This offers a vast field for action by soviets and trade unions. I am convinced that these processes will gather pace. We ourselves are taking non-standard steps. The MVD Collegium drew a conclusion about the need to create an MVD Public Council. The MVD main administrations have already started creating public expert groups... As for the practice of militia precinct inspectors reporting back to village assemblies, to meetings of the population in urban microrayons, and—and I would place special emphasis on this—directly to labor collectives, this must become the norm.

[Chernenko] Your predecessor identified one of the ways to stimulate staffers' interest—a flexible salary system, an opportunity for leaders of grassroot links and subdivisions to vary the table of organization... That was a serious and courageous offensive against the bureaucracy. What is your attitude toward it?

[Bakatin] Yes, A.V. Vlasov approached the government on this matter and, as far as I know, found support. But the solution of this question has come to a standstill. We are still working on it and, as I see it, it will be solved in the very near future.

[Chernenko] What is the role of MVD organs in the process of democratization and creation of a rule-of-law state? After all, today we have a vast quantity of non-standard situations brought about by people's steadily growing activeness... Rallies, marches... Conflicts arise.

[Bakatin] The MVD organs' role stems from the Constitution. I am profoundly convinced: No matter what the law may be—perfect or imperfect, old or new—it must be obeyed by all. This applies equally to the militia. The problems of legislation, the quality of laws, are a different matter... For example, critical remarks can be heard nowadays about the militia in connection with the Decree on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Rallies, Marches, and Demonstrations. The militia obviously must be criticized. There have been mistakes. Specifically, there was widespread public reaction to the case in Minsk when the force applied under the law was obviously out of proportion with the public danger posed by a rally which was being prepared but had been banned by the gorispolkom. It is necessary to learn to act in a more civilized manner. But, when talking about obeying the law, politeness and responsibility must be reciprocal. This, you must agree, is a political axiom. The decree can also be criticized. But while it is in force, everybody must obey it. As a matter of fact, if the decree's critics were to read it thoroughly they would realize that an ispolkom has virtually no authority to ban a rally being held. This can be done only if the objective of the event either runs contrary to the Constitution or threatens public order and security. These are very rare occasions in practice.

[Chernenko] In other words, a rank-and-file militiaman should not be blamed for the "uncivilized attitude" of those who at times give their own interpretation to the decree... In fact, the militia itself suffers seriously enough from the lack of a law on the militia...

[Bakatin] There is certainly need for such a law which would clearly define its tasks and the norms of mutual relations, both with citizens and with state and public organizations. We are working on a draft and hope that it will be widely discussed.

[Chernenko] What is your attitude toward the concept of territorial law and order organs?

[Bakatin] The management structure of MVD subdivisions cannot remain unchanged within the general trend of party policy toward sensible decentralization and redistribution of management responsibilities and functions with a view to implementing the idea of "strong republics—strong center." In the long term, we perceive the likelihood of splitting the militia into local (municipal) militia and central militia. Why should we in Moscow manage or determine the numerical strength of patrol and guards services, State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate inspectors, of the firefighting service? This can be done quite successfully by local soviets. It is a different matter that anyone who takes the militiaman's oath is not entitled to deviate in the least from the principle of internationalism. Events in the Transcaucasus proved that the loss of internationalism in law enforcement organs inevitably leads to or furthers illegality and discrimination vis-a-vis violators of the law and criminals on grounds of nationality. We have no right to let this happen.

[Chernenko] Percentage mania is also a scourge for the militia. Absurd and cruel... Is there any sense in blaming [the militia] for the statistics if this will result in the cover-up rather than the detection of crimes? The editorial office has received many letters in which militia staffers describe what "the leadership does to them" if they venture to record in full the crimes reported by the public. An example of this is provided by the No 85 Militia Division of the capital's Moskvoretskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, where an attempt to abandon percentage mania led to unconcealed persecution and conflict.

[Bakatin] The main point is that nobody needs statistics. Those who continue to appraise the militia's work according to the rising or falling numbers of crime or according to the percentage of solved crimes are thinking in a primitive fashion. This can be harmful if they are in a position to really influence the militia leadership cadres. Such an approach will, wittingly or unwittingly, lead to concealment of the real state of affairs. This ultimately benefits the criminals rather than society.

First, percentage mania and window dressing have a demoralizing effect on cadres, generate an atmosphere of falsehood, and draw attention away from the real struggle against crime. In such cases, leaders of urban rayon organs struggle not against the criminal but against the victim, which is much easier. Get rid of them by hook or by crook. This is a fairly widespread phenomenon. Here is what a Muscovite has written: "The population is profoundly convinced that it is useless to report crimes to the militia."

Second, distorted statistics present a false picture of the state of affairs as regards law and order. Consequently, we cannot correctly set tasks or define the necessary measures. Which, as a matter of fact, is actually happening. It can be boldly asserted that the level of crime in the country is considerably higher than reported by current statistics. Therefore, it is necessary to be prepared for the fact that the struggle against crime will require additional resources, if not additional manpower. And primarily the militia's technical reequipping.

As regards your mention of militia staffers from the Moskvoretskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, they suddenly ceased resorting to the flawed practice of seeking fabricated motives for refusing to institute criminal proceedings. The rise in the number of recorded crimes (and the ensuing decline in the number of solved crimes) was not to the liking of some Rayon Internal Affairs Department leaders. They will be punished.

[Chernenko] Your attitude toward the creation of a "state program for struggle against organized crime." Is there a likelihood of specialized subdivisions being created for this purpose?

[Bakatin] As for specialized subdivisions, they have already been created and have started operations.

It is necessary to elaborate a state program for struggle against crime, which would ensure close coordination and collaboration between state and law enforcement organs, scientific and ideological forces, the mass media, public education, health service, and cultural establishments, and public organizations and formations along this important avenue. A model of such a program is being elaborated by the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute with participation by law enforcement organs. The MVD is playing an active part there. There is no doubt that the struggle against organized crime will be an important component of our daily work.

[Chernenko] Much is being said today about the need to take investigations away from the prosecutors' offices. There are proposals to transfer this work to the MVD. At the same time, there are proposals to set up a separate extradepartmental investigations committee. What do you think?

[Bakatin] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "On Legal Reform" said that it is expedient to concentrate the investigation of the main bulk of criminal cases in the MVD investigative apparatus, setting it up as an independent structure outside the jurisdiction of republic and local internal affairs organs. Investigation should really be separated from preliminary examination organs. But this will not happen if investigation works remains within the MVD. Management will become more complex. All local connections will be broken and every question will have to be decided via the union minister.

I assume that the fulfillment of conference decisions, the enhancement of investigators' responsibility, the consolidation of legal guarantees for the legality of their actions, and the intensification of prosecutors' supervision over preliminary investigations can all be done much more successfully by separating the country's investigative apparatus into an autonomous extradepartmental structure—a union-republic investigations committee under the USSR Council of Ministers with corresponding committees at union republic level.

Ultimately, the main point is to ensure a law enforcement mechanism which would guarantee the protection of both society's and every person's future.

Draft Laws on Crime, Inventions Examined

LD2001023889 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—By TASS news analyst Boris Prokhorov:

Two major draft laws are tested by glasnost in the USSR now. The draft basic principles of criminal legislation of the USSR and the draft law on invention activity in the USSR are discussed at meetings and conferences all over the country, in the press and on television.

"What is most attractive about the draft is its humanitarian tendency," such is the gist of the overwhelming majority of comments on the draft basic principles of criminal legislation. The draft is supported on the whole even though there is a number of wishes to delete something or other from it or to make supplements.

Virtually everybody welcomes, for instance, the removal from criminal legislation of the principles of responsibility for not informing on relatives or friends who committed a crime. "The contradiction between the law and morality is thus removed," jurist Boris Piskarev writes in this connection. Some people declare against the institution of amnesty. Engineer Anatoliy Ivanov regards it as an "absurdity", and suggests that it should be dropped. He insists, however, on the inclusion into the document of the provision about criminal responsibility of the parents for particularly grievous crimes committed by minors.

In short, various opinions are expressed and there are many proposals, including mutually exclusive ones. For instance, lawyer Boris Diev, objecting to the preservation of death penalty, adduces what seems to be convincing proofs in favour of his stand. Another lawyer, Viktor Terentiyev asserts that "under certain circumstances of the crime it is only the death of the criminal that can atone for the perishing of a human."

But on the whole, and it is apparent, the draft basic principles of criminal legislation are accepted and approved by the public.

This, regrettably, cannot be said about the other draft law, about invention. It is discussed as broadly, but there is objection to it by inventors themselves. They disagree with a number of principles on which the document is based. "If this law goes into effect, this will deal a crushing blow at invention work", such is the opinion of engineer-metallurgist Leonid Danilov, an inventor who is prominent in the USSR. And the recent plenary meeting of the central council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, which unites several million people, declared unanimously against the draft law, regarding it to be not sufficiently considered and requested that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet extend the term of its discussion. In other words, it is clear that the draft law has not stood the test of a broad democratic discussion.

Though the initial results of discussion of both documents are so different, they are heartening, nevertheless. The democratic procedure of a country-wide discussion of draft laws is becoming effective. Glasnost functions as a "filter" to detain premature and not sufficiently considered decisions in such an important business as lawmaking.

Proposal To Remove Zhdanov as Commemorative Name
LD1701212889 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has submitted a proposal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, the corresponding bodies of union republics and local government bodies on the lifting of resolutions adopted by them at different times on conferring the name of Andrey Zhdanov on cities, districts, townships, streets, industrial enterprises, collective farms, military units and educational establishments.

This was done in response to numerous appeals of working people to party and local government bodies, to mass media organs, asking to lift legal acts commemorating Zhdanov. The Central Committee studied this problem in detail and adopted a corresponding resolution. It was established that Andrey Zhdanov who had been a member of the country's top leadership from 1935 to 1948 had been one of the sponsors of massive repressions of the 30s and 40s against guiltless Soviet people. He is responsible for criminal actions committed at that time and for the violation of socialist law.

Some time ago the city of Mariupol on the Azov sea coast was named Zhdanov. His name was conferred on Leningrad and Irkutsk universities, on many districts, streets and industrial enterprises.

New Political Publications Reported
PM2001111089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Published by Political Literature Publishing House"]

[Text] The second, supplemented, edition of the anthology "V.I. Lenin. On the Leader's Prestige" ["V.I. Lenin. Ob avtoritete rukovoditelya"] has been published. It includes in whole or in part works of V.I. Lenin, extracts from his speeches, letters, telegrams, and notes developing a multifaceted concept—the prestige of the leader—and it reveals the priceless experience of his work with cadres. The documents in the anthology show what importance V.I. Lenin attached to the education of political and economic leaders, which qualities he regarded as important for them, and how he himself treated his comrades in the revolutionary struggle.

The book "Marxism-Leninism and the Realities of the Late 20th Century" ["Marksizm-leninizm i realii kontsa XX stoletiya"] has been published. It studies a broad range of questions of world development in past decades: the nuclear era and the theory of the class struggle, the contradictions of the era and social progress, the struggle for a democratic and socialist alternative, revolution and counterrevolution in the world today, the dynamics of social understanding and the ideological struggle, and other problems.

The book is aimed at scientific workers, teachers, and the propaganda worker aktiv.

The annual reference work "The World of Socialism in Figures and Facts. 1987" [Mir sotsializma v tsifrakh i faktakh. 1987"] has been published. It describes the most important achievements of the socialist countries at the present stage.

Poll Shows Majority Oppose Price, Wage Reforms
AU2201172489 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 16 Jan 89 p 3

[NOVOSTI Correspondent Maria Kolmakova's report "especially for SLOWO POWSZECHNE": "Soviet Society on Price Reforms"]

[Text] The announced prices reform is currently at the center of Soviet society's attention. How is society disposed toward higher prices of many commodities and services?

According to the latest figures issued by the Public Opinion Department of the Scientific Center of the Higher Komsomol School, most of the respondents in a poll (68 percent) were opposed to higher prices of the most essential commodities, especially food. Some 46 percent of those opposed to the reform believe that it is unjustified because it will not improve the economy. What is more, 20 percent of those opposed to the reform believe that the actual reform will cause economic damage.

At the same time, 34 percent of the respondents understood the purpose of the price increases. Of these, 10 percent said that this is an expedient move, and one advantageous for the economy, especially agriculture. Some 24 percent considered the reform essential, even if it has a negative effect on people's purchasing power.

The above data shows society's present views. However, it is difficult to say what these views will be after the price increases.

The question of prices is closely connected with that of wages. Most of the respondents (79 percent) supported the idea that everyone without exception should only earn as much as he has produced. They opposed the idea of so-called wage-levelling and depriving people of personal responsibility for work results. Some 10 percent of the respondents had no comment on this subject.

It is mostly farm employees (92 percent of respondents) and workers (81 percent of respondents) who believe that wages depend on actual work input. However, 71 percent of office workers and 75 percent of managerial cadres also subscribe to this principle.

Action, Not Words, Urged on Restructuring
PM1901171089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 15 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Yegor Yakovlev: "What the Bickering Is About"]

[Text] No one can doubt that ours today is an invigorating, once-in-a-lifetime work in terms of the fate of our country and the world, the values being sought by perestroyka are no less important than the ideals of the October revolution. Having experienced the lessons of the 20th century, having drunk long from its bitter cup, we assert these values, without shedding blood, in a way that is peaceful.

But if all this is so clear and obvious, why are we so rarely happy without our daily life? And why are we always so concerned with something? Why, during the tragic prewar years (which were so difficult for great numbers of people), did we believe that we marched forward with a song in our heart? But today guardedness is so great that, were there bells on all the churches as in the past, they would clang for all their might! The latter was noted by Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting with workers in science and the arts held last week at the CPSU Central Committee.

So why are we downcast? There are many reasons for this and everyone will give a different answer. There are so many frustrations as hopes. One could say that the syndrome of watchful mistrust cannot be overcome overnight. Another will notice how laboriously, if not tragically, we accomplish each step of perestroyka. From the past we have inherited wage levelling and corruption, an anaemic economy, a national budget deficit and discombobulated commodity-money relations. On top of this we suffered the horror of Chernobyl, the tragedy of Armenia and the burden of Afghanistan.

But there are also other, much more subjective, moments which also affect our collective mood. For instance, our endless discussions, which can only evoke concern—this was spoken about in particularly great detail at the latest meeting with creative intellectuals. The bickering got more caustic at the end of the past year. In some newspapers and magazines the arguments became so heated that any discussion about culture was simply out of question: Everyone tried to strip his opponent down to the underwear and prove beyond all doubt that it had never been washed.

Perestroyka has affected the interests of millions of people, but on the other hand, it has thrown light on all the various factions as well. At another point in the meeting Gorbachev said that we were beginning to feel factional egoism, which was increasingly making itself felt—and that economists and writers ought to keep this in mind. Many essays on the above-mentioned discussions seem to contradict common sense. They're seen as absurd. But it should not be forgotten that, compared to the values of perestroyka, Nina Andreyeva's (whose

letter, published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, was considered by many as the manifesto of antiperestroyka forces) principles were also absurd. And yet her idea carried away many people.

It is said for instance, that perestroyka is leading to chaos and ruin. But it should be clear that the current renewal is laying bare the roots of old maladies. Again voices can be heard mentioning misguided wanderlust: Again they try to liken perestroyka to an airplane which, having gained altitude, doesn't know where to land. And yet it is common knowledge that practically all our society's intellectual forces have been drawn to the elaboration of the theory and policy of perestroyka. Its foundation is made up of the spirituality of our entire people.

Today it is useful to recall how broadly and without prejudice Lenin defined the precursors of Marxism in Russia: from Decembrists via the Revolutionary Democrats, including members of the movement the People's Will... Great and diversified was the range of precursors of his perestroyka—composed of those who had made it possible by their spirit, labour and sometimes even at the price of their very lives.

"Isn't the framework of socialism too tight for perestroyka?" This question has also been asked by some polemists. Any objective person will say: It's time to free socialism from the deformations which have occurred, allow it to realize its full potential, and only then assess its possibilities. There have been attacks against the CPSU—the party behind perestroyka and in the vanguard of our democratization. We need to remember that this is taking place at a stage when the reform of the political system has only just begun, when a legal state is yet in the making and the party's activities are in effect the only guarantee of perestroyka's irreversibility.

Gorbachev correctly remarked that such views regardless of pressure from circumstances which created them—were in effect spearheaded against perestroyka. And it's not important in the long run which camp (right or left) the advocates of these views belong to. They merged with those who feel uncomfortable in a democratic society, who yearn for a return to the past and are even willing to risk our country's future for the sake of their own private prosperity and ambitions.

There were times when the possibility of doing something good, especially for the creative intelligentsia, pierced, like a rare sunbeam, through the clouds of lies and dull conformity. Today our possibilities are boundless, so isn't it wiser to get down to business? Not denying, of course, the usefulness of discussions.

Writer Views Nov '88 Supreme Soviet Session

LD2001134589 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 4 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

[Article by Vytautas Martinkus, "Trust," under the rubric, "Writer's Word."]

[Text] How does it begin? What is it? Can it be attained, while we have not, as yet, established a just society, while it is still easy to refer to democracy as "an enemy?"

I ask myself these questions and write them down, late Thursday night. I have already read through all the newspapers, and have finished viewing the television account of the conclusion of the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet Session. The amendments to the country's Constitution have already been ratified, an Election Law is already in existence. It has also been announced that deputies voted unanimously in favor of the new laws. One could counter—unanimously, since only five out a choir of 1500 voters voted "against," while 27 remained quiet, that is, "abstained." Although this ammounted to a very minimal difference of opinions, it was something unheard of in a long time, and, for many unbelievable. Obviously, it will be recalled once more, when we listen to the delegates' impressions upon their return.

Unfortunately, television was not the open interlocutor for us, as had been the case during the 10th Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session or during the constituent assembly of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement; we do not know what the republic delegates voted for or against. We only believe and feel they were loyal to the mandates of their constituents. The broadcast of the closing speech by Mikhail Gorbachev also "raised" some questions for me and I wrote them down, immediately: trust...how does it begin? Such questions did not come to mind during the broadcast of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting which preceded the session; at that time it was obvious the center not only did not trust the border republics—it did not even wish to raise the possibility of such a trust. A Soviet republic, Estonia, was informed that it alone must pin its faith on (trust) the old, closed fist government principle, and after reading through the article dealing with union republic sovereignty, it must forget what it had learned and fail to understand what is written in articles 108, 109, 113, 119, of the new editions of the Constitution, where this advertised sovereignty is totally forgotten and bureaucratic centralization is catered to.

I have not yet acquainted myself with the debated and ratified amendments. The Kremlin rejoices at their number, at their quantity, that is. Unfortunately, it seems that one "amendment of the amendment" here or there, will turn out to be important, more modern—that is a federation, equal rights for republics—one that will strengthen their actual sovereignty, in figures of speech only. (Unfortunately, the speech by V. Astrauskas, on that subject, did not meet with agreement at the session). The fact that the number of deputies was increased (from 7 to 11) in the Soviet of Nationalities, will not have any effect on proportion of voting strength; the actual possibilities of defending republic interests will not be significantly increased. The rights of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet will be almost unrestricted and uncontrolled, in most instances,—absolute ruler status! (It is fortunate that during the deliberations, at least point 7 of paragraph 121, which would have expanded even further the chairman's powers, was seemingly deleted. The authority and functions of the Supreme Soviet chairman

should be allied, as closely as possible, with the authority of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Unfortunately, all of this will not be brought about yet. We do not posess the courage. It may be that we are still dwelling on "the revolution from above" plan. It becomes more obsolete by the day and by the hour...

Another question arises. Did our republic's deputies, our proposals, our protests, those almost 2 million citizens who signed the appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet for union republic sovereignty in the constitutional amendment project, have any impact on anything?

The answer to this is not one-dimensional.

Following the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting where decisions by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on a republic's right to "veto" in battles with the center's dictates were destroyed, to my way of thinking, few optimists remained who believed our, the Lithuanian SSR's word or action, could help to change virtually anything. This was true especially in view of the fact that questions of union republic equality and sovereignty were not placed on the session's agenda for deliberation, but were shunted aside to our political reform's second stage. No mention was made, however, of the fact that we are building today the legal foundation for the "second stage"; in other words, whatever we approve today, basing it on shorter-sighted deliberation, might by tomorrow be in contradiction with what we may want, or be obliged to carry out.

Thus, on the eve of the session, a clearly contradictory situation evolved. We did not think up a program for political and legal reform just haphazardly. A right is not forever, it must change in accordance with our life changes. The entire substance of restructuring consists of breaking up of norms on rights and changing them wherever they are not in sync with present-day living. We could not even begin this process, which we refer to as restructuring, without acknowledging such contradiction as normal. If we do not have the courage to cast aside old laws, we shall never acquire new ones. That is obvious.

However, does our yet unjust country have in essence any traditional and simple ways to defend new laws? It is far easier to come to the defense of an old law, than to defend new laws. It is far easier to come to the defense of an old law, than to defend a law which is not yet in existence. K. Lavrov, a just deputy, stated that during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting, many of its participants took part too lightheartedly and brazenly, in the crumbling of the Estonian decision. During the session itself many orators continued this attack, without risking anything themselves. They even attached labels—"sepa ratists," "raisers of nationalist ghosts," "fracturers of the Soviet Union," etc... Rational thought, however (without union republic economic and political strength, the economic and political might of the Soviet Union will become only imaginary), was often demogogically cast aside by these critics without serious consideration. Deputy V. Kazakov looked over the autonomous structure of the RSFSR suggesting it as an example to the Estonians of the future for the Soviet Union. The deputy's eloquent "insight," (supposedly speaking on behalf of the laws commission) is actually a form of conservatism! Since we already have this structure in the Soviet Union today, how is it supposed to become the future?

The Estonians were not abandoned, however. There were some deputies who, in their own individual manner, firmly supported the strategic reasoning in favor of republic sovereignty. Among them were: A. Gorbunovas, V. Astrauskas, D. Patiashvili...I am deliberately using an ellipsis, since I am not yet familiar with all the proposals. Many of these topics were deliberated by commissions and not all the speeches were delivered by the highest tribunal. A. Riuitelis, who spoke on behalf of the Estonians, did not renounce the strategic thoughts either.

There is, therefore, a positive aspect to this: truth cannot be vanquished, no matter how it is assailed. It cannot lose, for truth itself is victory. Regardless of how small were the changes in the project for Constitutional amendments which surfaced during the session, they did take place...for the welfare of union republic independence. (I say this obviously not without some risk taking; all the facts will be in in only a day or so...). Could this happend while the just, conservative central policy was still in effect? No, it could not take place, for there are no mircales. The result, undoubtedly, is not yet one to be jubilant about. Perhaps, in this instance, the tendency toward something is more important than the result. A long and difficult struggle for new ideas faces us; these ideas include economic independence and a current political status for the republic.

The questions which I marked down initially (concerning trust), demand a reply, also—and not simply a rhetorical reply. Without a doubt, we need to increase and deepen our trust. The center must be able to trust the union republics and they, in turn, must be able to trust the center; mutual trust must exist. (The latter condition is probably the most important.) This should not be postponed till the further "stages." Our union press should not (now that the session is over, alas, it is aided by the echo of session speeches) continue to depict Estonians as our counry's enemies.

In their countrywide appeal, Vladimir Bekman, Gustav Ernesaks, Jan Kros, and other representatives of Estonian intelligentsia, write: "Under conditions of national sovereignty only, it is possible to become free of the uncontrolled and unbridled dictate of central union departments which, in essence, arrest the development of regional economy and, simultaneously, the entire economic mechanism of the country." Is that not our position, as Lithuanians, also?

It is our position

Let us not forget this.

It was difficult to live without trust yesterday. What can we accomplish today without our trust, as well as that of others, of all the others?

Nothing, I would think. Was not the Stalinist hunt for "enemies of the people," a sufficiently painful lesson in lack of trust? Yes, it was.

Trust is an absolute necessity. It should not be regarded as simply a "reward" for what has been accomplished under these difficult living conditions, by some or others. Trust must also exist as a loan. It is honorable at any stage of political discusson. It is conscienscious whenever agreements need to be reached concerning "percentages" within the economy.

I think this type of trust did surface at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session. However, such trust was sought after very timidly, not in a highly organized fashion and at times, even by giving in to our devious friend—demogoguery.

Agricultural

Ligachev Meets Agrarians in Advance of Party Plenum

LD2301191189 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, who chairs the Commission for Agriculture at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, had business-like discussion with the Soviet agrarians today as part of preparations for a party plenary meeting on issues of agrarian policy.

The scientists from the Institue of Economics of Agriculture pointed out that the further balanced consolidation of the material and technical bases of the agro-industrial complex should be accompanied by improved use of the available potential and perfection of relations of production within the agro-industrial system.

The scientists' suggestions on perfecting the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex will be taken into account in drafting materials for the plenary meeting.

Ryzhkov, Murakhovskiy Discuss Food Supply Problems

OW2301161489 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1005 GMT on 16 January in its 10-minute "Restructuring Spotlight" program presented by Valeriy Golubev focuses on the chronic shortage of fruit and vegetables in the country. This topic has been widely discussed by the press following the recent meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers, which sought ways to overcome this problem. Golubev says the problem has been exacerbated by the fact that almost one-third of the total fruit and vegetable yield never reaches the consumer. Armenia is the only republic that achieved the planned production of fruit and vegetables, and the yield in other republics remains alarmingly low. Golubev points out that there are many contributing factors to this situation, but the most neglected areas are "preparation, storage, treatment, and sale" of fruit and vegetables. He goes on to say that this was graphically brought home to the participants in the USSR Council of Ministers meeting—held in Moscow on 14 January—by a photo display of incredible waste, poor packing, and inadequate storage facilitates for goods so much in demand.

Video then cuts to shots of the Council of Ministers meeting chaired by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. He says: "We feel that the people are extremely dissatisfied with the resultant state of affairs, and it seems that we will have to work out some serious measures."

The next speaker, Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee, in the words of Golubev focuses his attention on preparing the produce for the market with minimum losses. Murakhovskiy says: "I feel that we should, to make serious progress on questions of developing vegetable and fruit growing, lift the existing price restrictions to some extent. We will, after all, have to come up with prices that are flexible and free and that will allow the leaseholders and the cooperatives that have committed themselves to shops to regulate—during the course of the day and depending on quality and season—the prices of fruit and vegetable produce."

As Murakhovskiy gathers his papers, Ryzhkov says: "You have touched on the question of prices. Would you tell us who now has the right to trade in fruit and vegetables at arranged prices and who has no such rights?"

Murakhovskiy replies: "Presently, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have the right to sell up to 30 percent of their planned and above-plan production, but, in practical terms, as, Nikolay Ivanovich, you no doubt heard comrades say at the meeting yesterday, on the local level the local authorities assign the distribution of vegetables, and, in essence, these enterprises are denied the benefits of this 30 percent."

Ryzhkov says: "Let us say...[changes thought] There are three systems for supplying the population with fruit and vegetables. These are: government sales, followed by user cooperatives, which also includes the 30 percent you speak of, and the markets." As Murakhovskiy attempts to interrupt, Ryzhkov continues: "The prices vary greatly, up to a factor of five. Examples of this have been given."

Murakhovskiy: "Yes, yes."

Ryzhkov: "Do the prices vary according to quality?"

Murakhovskiy answers: "Yes they do. Why is it that people pay up to four times more for potatoes than the prices charged in shops? Because at the markets the potatoes are sorted and they know what they are buying."

Ryzhkov says: "Here we have two reasons. Either there simply is a shortage and nothing available in the shops, and that is why the person goes to the market, or the higher prices at the markets are truly consistent with consumer demand for this product. Would you please explain this to us?"

Murakhovskiy replies: "Nikolay Ivanovich, I certainly feel that both these factors are fundamental. If the shops are not trading, then the market dictates its price. If the shops are selling potatoes but their quality is inferior to the potatoes sold at the market, then the prices at the market rise accordingly."

Ryzhkov asks: "Vsevolod Serafimovich, nevertheless, is it the shortages that force the prices, or is it really the quality?"

Murakhovskiy replies: "Quality, Nikolay Ivanovich. Just have a look at this. We get the potatoes ready in September and we will sell them right up until spring for 10 to 12 kopeks [per kilogram]. Is this right? I don't think so. If we were to tell our trading organizations and those organizations involved in storing the vegetables that in September the price is to be between 10 and 12 kopeks, but in January the price will be 20 kopeks, whereas by March the price will be 30 kopeks, then these enterprises would take it upon themselves to preserve the vegetables. At present there are no enterprises that wish to store these goods. They get rid of the stock in September and have no further responsibility for it. The other way, the enterprises bear the costs—the potatoes will rot and there is a need to set a price that would ensure...."

Ryzhkov interrupts: "All right. But, as they say, it does not take much to figure out how to set the prices. But will the product they sell be the same as those presently sold at the markets, or will they demand 30 kopeks after 2 months, and if you don't like it..."

Murakhovskiy interrupts: "Nikolay Ivanovich, I feel that certainly in each affair there can be deviations from the norm. We in Moscow have transferred a certain number of shops on to leasing arrangements and they have been allowed to freely maneuver the prices within certain boundaries. Thirty of these shops are working really well. But we visited shops which, regardless of quality, have set prices at the upper limit. This is hooliganism. We were forced to revoke these rights."

The next speaker, V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, speaks of the need not only to improve the quantity of vegetables delivered to the city, but also to increase their quality and assortment throughout the year rather than get rid of certain vegetables at the peak of the season, resulting in a shortage for the rest of the year. In other words, he says, what is needed most is a proper system that would ensure a flow of vegetables from the field right up to the consumer all year round.

Ryzhkov says: "What possible system can we be speaking of if, say, cabbage is being dumped on the market. This indicates that there is no long-term agreement with the comrades in the republics. We have been speaking about this system since last summer when Moscow, once again, found itself in a difficult situation concerning fruit and vegetables. In our talks then we said the Agro-industrial Committee should certainly establish definite quotas. A working system must exist. But it looks like there is no system. Is that right?"

As the video shows the meeting in progress, Golubev says that what is lacking is price flexibility and the desire of farms to produce the goods. Stepo), general director of the Volga-Don Association, who speaks next, confirms that there is little incentive for farms and enterprises to supply vegetables to the cities. He says that his organization, in delivering tomatoes to the cities, loses some R500,000 per annum. Between 60 and 70 percent of the tomatoes produced by this enterprise are delivered to Moscow.

The following speaker, a director of a state farm, says that the main reason farms are reluctant to increase the production of vegetables is that there is no guarantee they will be able to sell the produce.

The program ends with Ryzhkov summing up the situation: "I feel that one of the shortcomings of the draft we have been discussing for a fairly long time is the fact that it really is based on old traditions—how many potatoes should be grown, what the price should be, and so forth. I feel that if we were to stress this particular aspect—although it seems that this, too is necessary to get our bearings—but if we were to stress this aspect without revealing all the reasons for this situation, which pleases nobody, neither the producer nor the consumer, we would certainly not achieve the results we are counting on. I think that first and foremost the question is to be found in economic relations. If we can find a normal, good structure for managing this process—what I mean by management structure is the management of the field, storage, transport, and retail outlets—if we can manage to unify these four links and do so economically rather than as in the present situation, where one fulfills the plan by dispatching the goods, the next fellow fulfills the plan by storing the goods, while the third carts it to the dump while still fulfilling the plan—if we can unify these four links, then a truly effective chain will be created that will allow us to solve these problems."

The program ends immediately following the end of Ryzhkov's speech.

Military

Army Paper Supports Proposed Force Reduction

PM2301153589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Observer (Manki Ponomarev) article under the rubric "Readers Approve, Doubt, Object": "Are We Baring Our Breast?"; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Recently the nature of the mail of the editorial board's foreign department has changed appreciably.

Letters are increasingly revealing a pluralism of opinions and a desire to express one's personal viewpoint on events taking place in the international arena. Taking this into account, today we open a new rubric, under which we intend to publish such letters and our own attitude toward the problems raised in them. At the same time, we will also maintain the international observer's now customary replies to questions asked by readers.

This time I have selected from the stream of letters those in which readers express their opinion of the decision set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations concerning a unilateral reduction of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces. I will say at once that the overwhelming majority of those who have written to the editorial board fully approve of this decision. Thus Colonel V. Kapralov, retired, of Leningrad points out that "the unilateral reduction of our Armed Forces and arms on condition that the USSR's defense capability is maintained at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of our country and its allies, is already giving us an undoubted moral advantage. The press has reported that NATO has begun discussing the idea of proposing mutual reductions of armed forces and offensive arms by two-thirds. This is the effect that the new Soviet initiative has had."

Lieutenant General M. Titov, retired, of Moscow; Major A. Gramatkov; and other comrades also write about approval for and understanding of the importance and timeliness of this initiative. They rightly see the decision to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces as the practical realization of the ideas of the new political thinking and the requirements of our defensive military doctrine, and as an indicator of the improving situation in the international arena and the diminishing threat of war.

A quite considerable group of readers who have written to the editorial board express serious concern that the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces could harm our motherland's security and weaken its defense capability. Here, for example, is what N. Borisov of Omsk writes: "Are we not baring our breast too soon by unilaterally reducing the Armed Forces? The United States and its allies have not said a word about reducing their armies; on the contrary, they are strengthening their offensive arms." A similar viewpoint is expressed by V. Chirkov of Kuybyshev and V. Yarovoy of Omsk.

It is noteworthy that the writers of the majority of letters of this kind are Great Patriotic War veterans. Their alarm is understandable. Hitlerite Germany's attack in the summer of 1941 and the grave defeats during the first period of the war taught our people lessons that were too bitter. We must not forget those lessons but draw conclusions from them. But nor must we live only in the past. We must take sober account of the actual situation taking shape in the world and look ahead. We must not gamble on an infinite arms buildup for the sake of ensuring security. Such a gamble has not brought success in the past, and still less can it do so now, only creating mistrust on the other side. In other words, an arms buildup in itself does not provide additional security. But, of course, a unilateral reduction in armed forces also requires that compensatory measures be taken. This is why, under contemporary conditions, the party has advanced the task of ensuring the effectiveness of our defense building, above all, by means of qualitative parameters—with regard both to hardware and military science and to the composition of the Armed Forces.

The Soviet decision has been made unilaterally. Therefore, we must not demand, as certain letter writers would like, immediate identical measures on the part of the United States and NATO. We must not demand them but, obviously, we can reckon on them. As is known, the final document of the meeting of CSCE participant states has just been adopted in Vienna. It examines for the first time questions of the practical reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. A mandate for talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which will begin in March, formed an appendix to the final document.

These talks are to discuss not only eliminating imbalances and asymmetries in the armed forces of the two alliances, but also reducing their offensive potential, which would rule out their use for a surprise attack and, at the same time, ensure the potential for conducting defensive operations. This in turn is to lead to increased mutual trust and stronger security.

Under conditions of lessening international security [as published] we must also think of the economic aspect of the matter. The larger the armed forces and the more arms there are, the greater is the expenditure. But we need funds to achieve the tasks of restructuring and to fulfill major national economic and social programs. The difficulties in this sphere are exacerbated by the growing budget deficit. M.S. Gorbachev spoke of the USSR decision concerning a cut in military spending in his recent replies to the PRAVDA editorial board's questions. The military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent, and military output by 19.5 percent.

Certain comrades complain in their letters of still inadequate glasnost in the military sphere. This is mentioned, in particular, in a letter from Lieutenant Colonel F. Denisov, retired. He believes that the Soviet public must know how fundamental decisions concerning problems of the country's defense are made. Ignorance of our total military spending or of the true correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO prevents us from making substantiated judgments on particular aspects of Soviet military policy.

Clearly, many of these reprimands are fair. Of course, problems of the country's defense capability are very serious, but excessive secrecy does not always benefit the cause, particularly when representatives of Western countries are acquainted, as V. Chirkov writes, with data and facts that sometimes remain absolutely secret from Soviet people.

At the same time, M. Titov points out in his letter, people who, in his view, are insufficiently competent sometimes take it upon themselves to judge particular problems. He disagrees, for example, with the thesis advanced in a television program that in the past, decisions affecting the Armed Forces were not examined sufficiently carefully and "secretly." In his opinion, such statements mislead the public.

Clearly, here, too, the matter runs up against a lack of glasnost. But life quickly moves on. Specific figures were indicated in the decision to reduce the USSR Armed Forces and their arms. In the next few days we can expect the publication of the statement adopted at the latest session of the Warsaw Pact states' Defense Ministers Committee setting forth an assessment of the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

On the whole, when answering the questions raised in readers' letters in connection with the upcoming reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces, it is necessary to say quite unambiguously: It is not enough to speak of peace, security, and trust. It is necessary to act in this direction. The measures the Soviet Union is taking are concrete actions.

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